precise, in its earlier meaning: xclusively to this sense of the past, to include a sense of a whole range, and kinds of knowledge, past and
Excursions

4  Masoleums, Oxymorons and Carnivals by Joan Davies and Jody Berland

5  States of Grace by David Galbraith
   Paul Simon’s Graceland generates uneasy response

6  Tele-Monopoly Capitalism by Marc Raboy
   A consolidated Quebec broadcasting industry goes international

7  Ungrateful Voyagers by Loretta Cernis
   Unlike vagrant men, street women look for no sympathy

8  New Sources by Michael Jensen
   Communications Technology and the World Information Order

9  Capitalism for Sale by Stuart R. Allan
   Unravelling the Standard News Indices on TV

12  Junctures
   From the Margins by Robin Metcalfe
   The Body Politic in a national context

14  Articles
   1986 Havana Film Festival by Michael Chanan

17  The Decline of the Feminist Utopian Novel by Peter Fitting

20  The "Framing" of Senator Jacques Hebert by Satu Repo
   The Globe and Mail and the Hunger Strike

24  Wealth and Nation: Modern Nationalism in Catalonia and Quebec by Robert Schwartzwald

32  How Walt Disney Infected the Design of Expo 86 and Why We Should All Be Frightened as Hell About It by Brian Fawcett

36  The Eponymy of the Text by Charles Levin
   Lacanian Psychoanalysis and Feminist Metafiction

44  Two Stories From St. Pierre et Miquelon by Roland Le Huenen

52  Reviews
   Jody Berland on local radio

54  Peter Kaulchyski on contemporary native theatre

55  Jill Eizen on new reproductive technologies

56  Graham Basketball on ecological theory

58  James Dennis Corcoran on the social role of music

60  Scanner
   A listing of academic, cultural and political events

61  Visuals
   Cover From Certain Terms Will Gorlitz, 1984
   ink drawings on text and book cover

30  Conspiracy of Silence
   From the Series by Nina Levitt, 1987
   Original colour prints with photogram

43  Elements Mastic
   Raymond Gervais, 1987
   Original poster in colour

ERRATA, ERRATA, ERRATA

The last issue (5, Winter 1986/87) had more typographical errors than we could list in detail; however:

- Ray Amstutz’s article Feminist New Narration: Shock Troops or Rear Guard? had a number of major errors, particularly the spelling of the title.

The Canada Council and the Ontario Arts Council were not properly acknowledged in our masthead.

In the review of The Newly-Raw Women, we inadvertently omitted to name Betty Wang, the translator.

For those and other sins of omission, our apologies, but we would like to add that Border/Lines attempts to edit and produce the best magazine possible. However, due to the limitations of money, time and slave labour we do not always meet our highest ambitions. Again, our apologies, but please stick with us. Send gifts, flowers and volunteer proof readers, thank you.
Mausoleums, Oxyyronom, and Carnivals

The welcome energy that has resulted in the contemporary proliferation of magazines and journals concerning themselves with some aspect of culture also creates the compulsion to confront intellectual movements that attempt to redirect our sense of what culture is. This means not only recognizing their existence but also being wary of suffocation by their attempt at wholesale-scale appropriation. Take, for example, that ecstatic and aesthetic facet known as postmodernism which is currently sweeping the conference circuits and seeping through the cracks of academia.

Now, theoretical schools or artistic movements that try to name themselves have been generally apocalyptic in tone and nihilistic in intent. And it is certainly true that most movements that do not so qualify were either named after a concept (positivism), a thinker (structuralism), a historically convenient figure (Victorian), or a style (Baroque), and always by subsequent generations. The idea of the modern, the postmodern, or the ultra-modern are thus curiosities of those whose sense of time runs outcausing them to have their ability to offer descriptive or even approximately analytical categorizations, or attempts to grasp the present before others define it. The categorical imperative turns to consume its own tail. The literature of the aesthetics of the "postmodern" offers simultaneously an explosion and implosion of images, metaphors, allegories and tropes which suggest that the time of Now may be the time of the Oxyyronom, that skirmishes amongst improbable images are better than the reception of over-valued cultures. It is curious to witness critical theorists behaving like newspaper columnists; the instant judgment of the moment being, however, translated into sweeping generalizations of an entire epoch.

One of the legacies of Hegelian-Marxist thinking is the attempt to make connections across the whole sweep of culture, society, economics, politics and history. But in Marxist thinking the attempt came from analyzing and metaphorizing a recognizable socio-economic base; the culture has been purely constructed out of the floodtide and jettison of images and productions. The haughty influence of the French Marxist (notably Bordrillard, Bataille, Lyotard) echoes in their North American clones whose nihilist rapier splatters its bullet at random across an entire continent in a fit of intellectual Baudrillard-Mecheffism. The hermetic cult of post-modernist rhetoric is a cynical substitute for examining the present in any critical manner. It is the con
templation of its own deixis.

Of course much of everyday culture is self-keeping (or already self-enframing), produced by mountebanks concerned with novelty for its own sake, a culture of self-amusement, the glorification of asphyxia. This dynamic has contin
cuously appropriated what used to call itself the avant-garde. And in addition, framed within a different but related institutional apparatus, there is the culture of hegemony, the articulation of control, the culture of the major galleries and Robert Puford, the sanctification of The Tradition and nationalism-as-fetish. This safe culture will not be put on the bargaining table easily because it is the culture of the self-image. Archival inheritance, threat
ened by appropriation as the mere- tricious adornment of a bourgeois in
tent on displaying — against all the evidence — that it is culture, must be rethought, but not in those terms.

The two cultures — the culture of the mausoleum and the culture of the oxyyronom — represent the polarities of the cultural debate as it is presently circulated in public-institutional discourse. Both cultures are pre
dominantly concerned with instant legitimacy and the political neutralization of art. The mausoleum culture is in haste — through Governor General’s awards and the like — to co-opt products, from whatever source, which can validate its tenuous claim to power; the culture of the oxyyronom refuses this co-optation, and the sense of history that it implies, by arguing for even greater disconnectedness, for absolute relativism, with the claim that what it is doing is not ‘mere’ culture but philosophy — in Lyotard’s words "working without rules in order to formulate the rules of what will have been done." With such a programme it too can claim to be a contemporary writer or artist, artefact or process as part of its raw material, a terrorism dedicated to the disswal of any content of what is said and the context within which it is said. But by claiming to be open both cultures are predicated on closure and the pursuit of system-building.

Borderlines is concerned with opening cultural discourses, of intervening in specific areas so that the potentials for social and political emancipation are eased out of the talk, the paint, the plastic, the silicone chip and the environment. The problem with the culture of the mausoleum is that its metaphor is the Hall of Fame to which we come to remember; the problem with the culture of the oxyyronom is that its metaphor is a structured language which it seeks to explode. Neither helps much with exploration or emancipation because the metaphors are themselves continuously decontextualized and hence anti-social. They are not inhabited by people, and are consequently abstract categories which only come alive when used for other political purposes.

The truly emancipatory culture is one which is constantly testing the experience of the present by reca
ding history, not only, we must have to add, the history given to us by the Mausoleum, (which is basically the history of a particular mode of justifi
cation), but the history of action and the history of those products which sit in our living rooms or public spaces as things we are obliged to encounter. The ‘sense’ of language we are after can be drawn from the image of the carniv
ea-loke where we encounter ourselves in a situation related to important moments not necessarily ours by making them part of ourselves. If the culture of the postmodern is a humourless culture of relativism and exclusion, of sealing off the past and the other, then emancipatory culture is the strategically motivated and contextualized exploration of alter
natives by juxtaposition. Like the mausoleum culture it recognizes history and other cultures and like the oxyyronom it recognizes the importance of linguistic rediscovery. But unlike both it is conscious of the joy of practice, and conscious also that such joy is only possible by admitting desire and politics and movement and place as integral to the conditions of being, and of becoming.

Invention. Our entire environment is constructed, occupied, invented. The “natural” landscape of our parkland is as much a social construction as the "natural" landscape of our sexuality. But we still have to live in them, and therefore our deconstruction of these as ideological texts is part of a strategy for establishing spaces for living, for finding our own principled processes of self-creation and collective re-invention. The politics of our nationalism is not concerned with defending territory but rather with redefining the conditions of the territory itself. These are not metaphorical arguments. Well, perhaps in part they are; but ultimately they act as a catalyst to figure out what is going on here.

Borderlines, finding itself forced to maintain all the borders of culture, has never argued for the mausoleum view of culture and it has often seemed close to the oxyyronom (because we are tempted by what is not known as much as by what is known), but it is time, surely, for the carnivaleque to make itself more obvious. Thus, Nature is not reduced simply to the strategies of dominance or the rediscovery of language, but becomes part of our disguises and our problems. And history, that "cry in the streets" as Joyce called it, must be taken back to the streets and the playgrounds and the texts and the airwaves and the homes, by ripping it out of the mausoleums that would encase it forever in the framework of an almost dead bourgeois hegemony. Politics has been neutered by the language of those who would say that no politics matters except my lan
guage, and no sex except my sex, no horizon except the impossibility of any utopia. Borderlines has begun to think about the politics of the specific, of the everyday, of the global, of the knowable. In the dismemberable connections. It will continue to do so.

Jody Berland and Joan Davies are members of the Borderlines collective.
A few weeks ago, I first heard Barbara Trumm's rather tasteless gushings over Paul Simon. On the Christmas Eve broadcast of The Journal, he would probably get me to the recording. Graceland, however, has acquired the status of a genuine cultural event. Even in an industry where hyperbole is the norm, its reception has been surprising. Simon is, after all, hardly the cutting edge of American music. Nonetheless, cries of "album of the decade" have already been heard. In a long article in the New York Times (26 August 1986), for example, Stephen Holden effused that it "effuses with an extraordinary sense of artistic freedom and adventure." While under other circumstances this endorsement alone might trigger suspicion in the minds of the more politically sophisticated, the response of large sections of the left and the cognoscenti has been almost equally unreserved.

But because it was recorded in South Africa, using Isi-\ musicans, it's also an album which seems almost calculationaily designed to generate a whole set of uneasy responses among many people opposed to South Africa's policy of apartheid. The more simple-minded complaints either zero in on an implied eutation of South African politics, or aim for higher ground by attacking more generally its "exploitation" of African music and musicians.

Neither of these objections is, by itself, very forceful. Although it's true that Simon eschews direct commentary on South Africa, these issues are very close to the surface in "The Boy in the Bubble" and "Homeless." But he's much more concerned with enacting the encounter between Africa and the metropolis to which he alludes explicitly in "You Can Call Me Al." On most tracks this is realized by counteringposing southern African music to Simon's very metropolitan literary sensibility.

This strategy has its own rewards. Graceland is much less susceptible than most of Simon's work to accusations of preciosity. The tension between his voice and lyrics and the instrumental work gives it an edge which is absent from much of the rest of his music. This is most evident on the tracks which feature Bafikhi Kuhumalo and Ray Phiri. I find the two songs with Ladysmith Black Mambazo less interesting because they attempt to reconstruct on a purely vocal level the edge which emerges, on other tracks, in the interplay between voice and instruments.

When the perspectives embodied in African instrumentation and Western lyrical concerns are held in suspension, as indeed they are on many tracks, Graceland is most successful. But Simon blows it completely when he attempts a less ambiguous return to America. The synto track is merely embarrassing; the song recorded with Los Lobos is disastrous. It's difficult to relate them in any significant way to the concerns of the rest of the album, apart from the presence on both of an accordion. A polka would make as much sense.

Graceland isn't the first Simon album to incorporate non-metropolitan music. Nor is it the only recent album which seeks to construct a dialogue between African and Western musical concerns. Talking Heads' Remain in Light comes readily to mind. This is a project which is obviously difficult. One runs the risk either of falling into a naive and often racist identification with "the primitive" or of simply adding another culture for fast thrills. Jukula offered a horrifying example of what to expect when this tension isn't resolved. But Talking Heads negotiated it successfully; so, for the most part, does Simon.

But this relative success doesn't get him off the hook so easily. Other issues remain, precisely because it's South Africa which is being addressed. The most important of these is the cultural boycott. Simon has stated that he received approval for the trip from such prominent American anti-apartheid cultural activists as Harry Belafonte and Quincy Jones. Irrespective of the truth of this claim (and one would want more information about the context of these discussions than Simon has provided), it does raise the issue of the status of the boycott. It is, after all, sponsored and administered by the United Nations. The authority of individual Americans, however prominent, to "clear" artists to work in South Africa is at best questionable.

In this context, Simon's claim that the boycott hurts black South Africans becomes particularly objectionable. And it's hard to read his decision to include Linda Ronstadt, a prominent Sun City performer, on one track as a deliberate repudiation of the UN blacklist. The fact that "Under African Skies" happens to be the worst on the album is a purely serendipitous demonstration of the symbiotic relationship between art and politics. Linda Ronstadt has, after all, booted other musician's sessions. But here it's almost as if her voice drove the song into the third world baits box which the record elsewhere manages to evade. If this were a Los Reed album, I'd be tempted to interpret the utter sentimentalism of the track as a calculated move. But the man who wrote "Bigger Over Troubled Water" seems incapable of such finely calibrated effects.

Noneetheless, some very complex questions remain to be answered. The boycott was adopted at a time when the resistance movement within South Africa was at its lowest ebb. Its organizations were driven deep underground, its leaders either jailed or in exile, and its base began temporarily into quiescence. Artists who identified with popular aspirations went into exile; there was good reason to be suspicious of most work being produced openly within the country.

This situation has been transformed in recent years. The current upsurge in popular resistance has been widely echoed in the arts. Increasingly, most interesting cultural production takes shape in often explicit dialogue with the liberation movement. In literature, in theatre, not least of all in music, there is a large body of sophisticated and politically engaged work. Canadians may be most familiar with the literary production; but even many of the mainstream popular musicians in South Africa have aligned themselves with the resistance. Is there any way through which this material could be made available to people outside South Africa without abandoning the boycott? Or in other words, is it possible to construct a policy which permits us to attack both the Rod Stewarts and Linda Ronstadts of the world and continue the isolation of the South African regime, and to diffuse the tremendously exciting work which is now being produced? One hopes so. Graceland is hardly the crucial test case for this dilemma. But it does, once again, focus these issues for us.


David Galbraith has lived and worked in southern Africa.
**Magazine Title: **BORDER/LINES
**Issue: **Spring/Summer 1987

**Excursions**

**First Paragraph:**

"In the early 1980s, Rogers Cablesystems bought CFTO-TV and parlayed the deal into participation in the privatization of the CBC and the launching of The New Canadian. This exercise in the suspension of disbelief is not just an anecdote, but a near-perfect analogy of the transaction sanctioned by the CRTC early this year, involving some of the major high-rollers of Quebec private broadcasting. The flaw in the analogy is that Videotron and Tele-Metropole are relatively more monolithic and more interested in the dance floor than the local community. In this case, Quebec City, is indeed in the process of selling off its public service broadcaster.

"While the rest of us have no recourse but to sit back and wait for the government to crack up the process of revising Canada's increasingly outmoded broadcasting legislation, the agency charged with protecting the public interest that continues to invent the future is undergoing its own cultural industrial design.

"As the CRTC-Supervised task force on broadcasting noted in its final report, the CRTC has no policy on concentration of ownership, nor on cross-media ownership, but on a cross-medium ownership, but on a vertical integration. Where private ownership is concerned, it is the case that some major, often important, aspects of media.

"In the case of the task force on broadcasting, the CRTC has a new model of corporate concentration, the fully integrated and vertically integrated video supermarket, in the hope of launching a Canadian enterprise into the big leagues of transnational television.

"By permitting Le Groupe Videotron to acquire Tele-Metropole Inc., the CRTC sanctioned the union of Quebec's main cable company operator and the most lucrative private sector television broadcaster in Canada (According to the Broadcasting Measurement, Tele-Metropole's CFTM-TV had 26% of the audience share of the Montreal market in the fall of 1985, as compared, for example, to CFTO's 19% in Toronto).

"The case was a regulator's wet dream, with bureaucrats getting to decide which group of Canadian capitalists would get to add a winning racehorse to its stable, and ride it in the international sweepstakes.

"Less than a year earlier, the CRTC rejected a similar bid for Tele-Metropole by Power Corporation on the basis of Power's thin profit promise of performance, although public interest groups in Quebec called for the rejection because the Power group already owned the Montreal daily newspaper La Presse.

"The main beneficiaries of the hiatus were T-M's owners, who watched their property's selling price rise by 55% in a period of nine months, from $98 million to $134 million, between the two bids. The CRTC decision is shocking to critics of media ownership concentration, who thought that they had successfully opposed Power's bid only to have the CRTC approve a much more onerous form of concentration.

"Tele-Metropole, or 'Channel 10' as its decision in Montreal, is the provincial flagship company that grew, from 1961, by J.A. DeSeve, Channel 10 was Quebec's first French-language private SESAC TV station. The foundation laid up to manage DeSeve's estate after his death is not particularly interested in the latter. In recent years, it has been planning its profit-making potential as a resource for creation television via a typically Canadian approach, but quite what the Broadcasting Act has in mind when it speaks of preserving the country's cultural identity, the DeSeve heirs have for some time been quite ready to take their leave of the TV business and move on to other, perhaps more lucrative, interests such as philanthropy and corporate clipping, but they were hindered in their progress by the Toronto Force, which specified that Tele-Metropole could only be sold to a Quebecois interests.

"Tele-Metropole's Channel 10 is not only Quebec's most lucrative private stations, but also a flagship of principal shareholders of the major private network, TVA (the Quebec equivalent of CTV). Tele-Metropole had revenues of about $150 million in 1986. TVA, the station supplied about 50% of the programming from its French-language private television to Quebec. There are many more people of capital in Quebec that could easily buy up such a property. On that basis alone, Power's bid, all said and done, didn't provide much substance, the proposal was made, and offered a mere $1 million a year in new money for programming, and to guarantee that Tele-Metropole's new operations would be insulated from those of Power's other media interests. The CRTC judged the proposal inadequate and told Tele-Metropole to come back with another offer.

"Videotron learned from the Power experience, and reduced the CRTC with a more substantial plan that pushed all the right nationalist buttons. It promised a range of new programming initiatives worth $30 million over five years. As the company has not been active previously in traditional information (ie, news) marketing, the proposed transaction did not raise the same degree of public concern. The Federation Professionnelle des Journalistes du Quebec, for example, which had vocally opposed the Power Corp. project, was acquisitive towards Videotron. The CRTC award to Videotron is, however, far more in keeping with its implications for democratic communications.
Il y a du danger à s’imiter soi-même.  
Pierre Reverdy

Angie has lived on the street for ten years. During that time, money has been continually deposited to her bank account from her husband’s pension and from her own. (Her former boss registered her for early retirement.) She has enough money to buy a small house. But, how to go back to “normal”? Fictions of happiness and satisfaction. How to go back to following the rules, having a telephone, having to put up in one spot? To get mail. To lose carefully-honed city-jungle instincts. How to go back to cooking, owning a budge, washing everyday, smiling at strangers, staying out of garbage cans. And why go back? She has not touched any of her money for ten years. She doesn’t know how to approach it.

Angie stays out of the shelters as much as possible, even in winter. There is too much hate. “I get enough of that outside.” The other women look at you as if they want to kill you. And the staff are terrible. They are so demented, self-righteous. You have to feel so grateful to them. If you don’t act lucky, they’ll put you down. Who needs it?*

There are many different kinds of isolation. One can live in the arctic, or one can live in a cardboard box in the heart of a busy city. These women live in but not of the city; they are floating down the middle of water/alleysways, dangerously far from a telephone, and always in unfriendly territory.

Ida and Angie have learned to be resourceful. They can live on “nothing.” Working people hurry by. Afraid of the rats and the stench, we avert our gaze. We say no every time we turn our eyes away, projecting the violence of our negation into suspicious shrivelled street faces. Yet these faces are profound. A thousand unanswered questions throb in the forehead. Street women address these questions by living a radical present, not beholden to any past, not looking for any sympathy, and yet dependent on every future.

Everyday reactions to male and female vagrants are qualitatively different. Homeless females are constructed dismissively as unfortunates, waiting desperately hoping to be saved. One of the assumptions arising from this stereotyped construction is that these waiting orphans will feel forever indebted to their rescuers.

Loretta Ciarnita was born in St. Joseph’s Hospital on 28 July 1952. At a tender age she left Toronto and travelled the world for 17 years. Loretta now lives at 176 she Espalante in downtown Toronto. In the future she plans to move northwest and live at no fixed address.

*Although the story is real, the location is fictitious. In order to protect the identity of the women, names have been changed.

Ingratitude, Voyagers
When Captain Midnight broke into three and a half million homes with his own message by taking over the satellite sending a prime-time film all over North America, many people took it to be a sign of the imminent breakdown of the western dominated World Information Order. Others, pointing out how quickly the satellite pirate was tracked down, said it was merely an isolated and insignificant outcry, easily smothered out by the U.S. military-industrial complex with its virtually complete control over all communications technology.

As usual there is an element of truth in both points of view. There can be no disputing the monolithic hold which western capitalist interests have over our communications technology. However, it is becoming increasingly apparent that these interests can no longer completely dictate the content of the transmissions carried on their machinery. Captain Midnight was actually only found by chance: a number of the public decided to report the details of a suspicious conversation heard over a crossed telephone line.

Observers from the old school of communications theory have tended to obscure the issue of the content of the media by focussing on the hardware associated with communications. Herbert Schiller, professor of communication at University of California, said recently:

"Global information domination and control in the 1980s is based largely on the capability to manufacture the hardware of advanced technologies such as satellites and computers, the organization and administration of international communication networks, the construction and ownership of comprehensive electronic data banks and the creation of the software that sets all the information activity in motion."

What Schiller and others have missed is the impact of two factors: Firstly, the huge growth in global data transmission which has driven down the cost of communications and communications equipment, and secondly, the rise of a class of people willing to co-opt the technology or set up alternative communication systems and sources of information.

It is now possible to make use of one of the public data networks to communicate between any one of over 75 countries for only a few dollars an hour. With earth station satellite equipment drooping from $100,000 a few years ago to $15,000 today – even countries as poor as Zimbabwe are now installing the equipment needed to link into these networks.

Likewise, the cost of the computer hardware one user needs to communicate with another has plummeted. Minicomputers have made it possible for the power of the computer to be packaged in portable units at prices not far beyond the means of most remote third world villages. $500 will buy a terminal capable of sending and receiving any number of messages and files. $1,000 will purchase everything necessary to operate an international database and messaging system.

With a modem – a device the size of a small book – such a system can transmit or receive over normal telephone lines, through cheaper but slightly less accessible data lines, or even via shortwave (which no one controls) using more recently developed "Packet Radio" technology. The latter was used with success last year by VITA (Volunteers In Technical Assistance) to co-ordinate some of the food relief distribution efforts in remote Ethiopian villages.

Any small computer can be made to work automatically by flipping the right switches on the modem so that it will answer an incoming call and route it to the computer. With the appropriate software even a Commodore 64 can be run unmanned continually to provide a drop-off point for newsletter articles or messages to other users of the system, a forum for the discussion of pertinent issues, and even a database of relevant archival material. Software to do all this has been written by enthusiastic computer hackers and distributed by them for free, so that for about $1,000 it is now possible to set up a globally accessible electronic publishing node, more usually called a bulletin board system or BBS. Moreover, this can be made to take place in the "background" so that the user can continue to type or carry on with other computer use. All of this can happen on IBM "clone" systems sold at discount stores.

The best known electronic networks are massive commercial databases like CompuServe (owned by H & R Block) which try to offer as broad a service as possible to their large subscriber base (in the case of CompuServe, 250,000 people). There are also, however, literally thousands of small publicly accessible systems which are not publicized mainly because they operate on a non-commercial basis.

At last count there were over 1,400 bulletin board systems operating in Canada and about 12,000 in the U.S. Because local calls are expensive overseas BBSes are slower to catch on there, but even so there are probably another 1,000 systems dotted about the globe.

Initially many of the BBSes catered to the needs of the "background" so that the little interest to most users. These systems did, however, help to spread the use of cheap software. Hackers unwilling to pay the high prices of commercial software have written their programmes and made them publically available to anyone who wants them. These days it is possible to obtain public domain word processing, spreadsheets and databases, as well as far more esoteric software. Programmes distributed under the "shareware" agreement promote copying while encouraging a small registration – usually about $30 – "if you decide you like the programme and wish to receive a printed manual and upgrades." Much of this software is as good or better than the commercial equivalents, so many home-based programme have made a living on the meagre registration fees because there are no distribution costs – the programme is voluntarily produced and redistributed by electronic networks.

Toronto is in fact home to the largest electronic depository of such material in the world – Canada Remote Systems. For a small membership fee to cover the costs of the operation, CRS makes a database of over 50 million characters of programming available to anyone with a modem.
Such systems have served to prime the field of electronic communications by providing cheap access to the necessary tools. Now non-computer related BBSs are appearing thick and fast in virtually every area of human endeavor. Possibly because of the isolating nature of the computer, particularly popular topics have been role-playing games and computer dating. Camelot and Dial-Your-Match are two examples among the more than 200 systems in the Toronto area. Artists may converse on Arnet, Speak or the Cat Gallery while people interested in social movements dial up The Catalyst in Vancouver, Alternet in Ottawa, and Gateway in Toronto.

In California, the Community Memory Project has replaced a newspaper with a network of publicly accessible computers into which any citizen can place news or information and any other citizen can give alternate views or request clarification. It has been in operation since 1976. Econet is another such electronic network linking users concerned with the environment and institutional development in 65 countries. The service offers free electronic mail and it also has additional facilities allowing any user to initiate a "conference" on any particular issue. Users from all over the world make submissions (as messages) to the conference which then become a point of reference to stimulate further discussion or to allow new members to catch up on the topic. In this way a conference can go on for months at the convenience of the user.

Similar alternative electronic networks are now springing up all over North America. PeaceNET, linking peace groups, was officially launched last year.

After some initial teething problems, the Whole Earth Electronic Link (WELL) operated by Stewart Brand's Whole Earth Review (formerly CoEvolution Quarterly) is now one of the more dynamic forums for electronic networks. Union in Colorado is the home of the Electronic Networker's Association and GreenNET. In Europe, the equivalents are Communetree, Poppel and GeoNet. It is only a matter of time before major networks begin to appear south of the equator.

Likewise, networks are beginning to link up to each other so that we can envision a system of transitional computerized social networks composed of equally autonomous communities distributed around the globe. As Bill Ellis of TRANET puts it:

"Each network within the system would have a number of interconnected information nodes to serve the local communities. Any one of these nodes will be able to access and copy the files of any of the others. No one would have unique files not shared by a number of others. So, no node could control the inflow or the outflow of information. One might collect and put in the files of the network publications relevant to low-cost housing; another might develop files of experts on wood stoves; a third might concentrate on legislative actions relative to population control. The network's memory would be the synergy of the memory of the individual members.

"We can anticipate a completely egalitarian information system in which any household on earth could communicate freely with any other at any distance to provide assistance, request help or exchange goods. There would be no hierarchy or bureaucracy to filter the exchanges. Each planetary citizen would have many optional paths through which she could improve the local well-being or participate in world governance."

Perhaps an overly optimistic vision, but nevertheless an accurate reflection of the potential that is here. New communications technology has made interactive and democratic information systems more feasible. The author has assisted with an exhibition dealing with these topics called "Ear To The World". Held at a Space gallery in Toronto from March 30th to April 3rd, the exhibition established and demonstrated a low cost, prototype news and information surveillance system, thus enabling artists and the community to access a spectrum of news and information from a large number of sources, many of them conventionally unavailable.

Michael Jensen is an information consultant and freelance writer in Toronto. He is currently writing a guide to Canadian electronic information.
The Toronto Stock Exchange, the Montreal Stock Exchange, the Dow Jones Industrial Average, the price of Gold and the Canadian exchange rate – these are the subject of the Standard and News Indices (SNI) as they are found in Canadian network television news. Each is a regular, routine feature of our nightly newscast; each is also a finely crafted promotional pitch designed to move the psychopathetic audience known as capitalism, into the ideological marketplace.

Presented with the task of unraveling the complexities of the SNI and the seamless world of economic discourse they present to us each evening, one must look beyond the indices as mere suppliers of economic information to their status as constituents for the symbolic sphere governing consumption.

We come to the SNI as social readers, actively participating in their production of signification. And yet, as indicators of the daily fluctuations on the currency, stock, and precious metal commodity markets, the SNI’s mode of address speaks only to those people possessing a direct material stake in what they represent. As members of this society we are all affected by what SNI claims to stand for, but this representation hardly justifies their inclusion when, for example, a mere 9.6% of the adult Canadian population is concerned with the daily activities of the composite stock index.

Even that number, provided by the TSRI, is misleading because it infers that all investors use the daily indices on a daily basis. Certainly for those investors classified by economists as ‘passive’, daily stock market information is largely ignored. Furthermore, your average share owner is probably only interested in their own particular investments and prefer to get their information from their brokers, financial newspapers and specialty newsletters.

Thus in order to analytically determine how ideological themes operate through SNI, let us consider the cultural picture of the world that emerges from the individual indices. When examining the functioning of SNI within ideological discourse, we should dispense with any notion of a ‘ruling elite’ imposing signifying practices from above with the conscious intent of ‘duping the masses’. In its place, we can conceive of a view of ideology acting through a number of legitimating mechanisms basic to the discursive practices of everyday life. Contained in SNI are the signifying elements of consumption as they are reproduced in the codes structuring the range or horizon of the preferred meaning presented by the indices. Ideological assumptions and prescriptions are thus amplified by the indices in particular ways to create a specialized system of meaning that works to sell the social order as a commodity.

The language of the SNI connotes the dictates of the marketplace, thereby serving to naturalize the manner in which we apprehend the world of capitalism. The indices signify that the marketplace exists in relation to its own set of unified laws, thus the indices ‘explain’ (and therefore legitimate) the institutional order by ascribing cognitive validity to its objectified meanings.

Thus the daily fluctuations of the stock market become part of our everyday experiences. As a source for the objectified facts basic to our commonsense constructions, indices provide ordered knowledge of economic variables, thereby allowing us to internalize what they claim to represent. In this way a world reduced to conceptual categories is made to appear meaningful.

While the existing institutional relations are transitory, historical phenomena, they are represented by the SNI as if they were somehow inevitable or natural, and outside the constraints of time. Because SNI possesses neither a history nor a mark of authorship, they are fixed as inert facts, consequently their ideological elements are camouflaged.

By establishing the dominant inference as a literal, visual transcription of the economic order, the world of human economic practices undergoes a process of commodification which forces us to apprehend that world through the reduced terms of the SNI. In fact, their very ‘take-for-grantedness’ within the newscast acts as a hindrance to a critical examination of the social relations that determine them.

The information, as it is presented, is decontextualized. It is essentially meaningless for the majority of viewers, yet the very inclusion of SNI effectively serves to blur or gloss-over what are economic class interests by creating a false sense of participation. Thus the discourse presented by the SNI serves as hegemonic function by further mystifying power relations within the larger society, purporting as it does to speak to all when in fact its meaning is not likely to transcend latent class boundaries.

One news producer admitted that “probably only five to ten per cent of the audience is able to analyze the data we provide.” A news editor for The National insisted that the need for indices was “based on instinct,” but he had “no idea who uses them.”

Question: What are the present indices saying to us about our society and its priorities?

Given that millions of Canadians are unemployed or underemployed, live below the poverty level, and are concerned about acid rain, starvation in Third World countries and the danger of nuclear war, why is there no regular provision of statistical information catering to these interests in our nightly news?

According to news editor for The National: “In a twenty-minute broadcast, time is the major restraint. Right now we don’t have the room to accommodate any more (indices) than the ones we’ve got.” While the CBC pointed out that there has been in the past a considerable amount of internal debate at the corporation concerning the possible implementation of alternative indices, at present they insist “there’s not enough time for social indexes, and anyway, there’s no easy electronic way to do them.”

There was an unwillingness on the part of the networks to conceptualize the implementation of indices other than those which fall within the established parameters of purely economic concern. Global TV responded by admitting that since the gold index ‘stabilized’ in 1986, “it has not been seen as a great indicator. Platinum would be much better... it’s highly volatile due to the situation in South Africa.” Also suggested were a Real Estate Index, a Crude Oil Index and a Bond Market Index to “tell you where interest rates are going and also the economic strength of Canada.”

But what types of indices would be of greater relevance to the interests of the majority of Canadians? This question, first posed by Peter A. Bruck, director of Carleton University’s Centre for Communication, Culture and Society (CCCS), has provided the impetus to keep him and a team of researchers busy organizing to change the SNI. They have assigned to themselves the task of translating critical research into opportunities for a critical social practice. A number of alternative indices, many still in development, are already being examined. An Under/Unemployment Index has been proposed as a daily update on the crisis of the labour market and its failure to provide adequate work opportunities for millions of Canadians. Similarly, a National Poverty Index could be included as an index showing in composite form the number of Canadians living below the poverty line, set in relation to the number of Canadians living in opulent affluence.
Statistically more ambitious is the Inequality Index, a daily indicator of the changing spread in earnings between Canadians who make a living through wages and those who make a living as owners of stocks and capital. Another idea is the Ecology/Environmental Poison Index (regional and national) which would be a daily composite index on the acreage of lasting deforestation and soil erosion in Canada, and the changes in levels of dioxin and other lethal poisons in foods and waters.

Other proposals include a Global Starvation Index (a weekly update on the areas in need of the greatest amount of assistance), and a World Militarization/Development Index (a weekly indicator on the ratio between world military spending and development spending).

The CCCS research unit is currently seeking people who are interested in contributing to the development of alternative news indices (ANI) such as these ones. Plans are underway to hold a national conference. In the meantime, the endorsement of more than one hundred church, labour and popular groups and organizations has been solicited.

The initial response to the project at this level has been enthusiastic. By making the commodification of social relations the target of analysis, the approach allows for the creation of the space required for interested groups to initiate a wide ranging critique of the established media system.

The next step the unit plans to take is the development of a critical media analysis package to facilitate the implementation of media literacy programs for those groups wishing to assist in the production of ANI. Once the proposals are fully worked out and discussed at the grass-roots level, they will be forwarded to the television networks for consideration.

The adoption of the ANI would be a first step towards the networks' news programs dealing with fundamental social inequalities in a serious way.

Stuart Allan is a researcher at the Centre for communication, Culture and Society at Carleton University.
FROM THE MARGINS: THE BODY POLITIC IN

On December 16, 1986, on the eve of the periodical's fifteenth anniversary, The Body Politic suspended publication. It had lived to be one of the oldest, and most respected, of a generation of "underground" (later, "alternative") periodicals that included This Magazine Is About Schools and The Georgia Straight. The pre-eminent gay theoretical journal of the English-speaking world, TBP was Canada's principal contribution to the international movement, read by literate activists in Stockholm, Sydney, Mexico City and New York, as well as Toronto, Vancouver and Halifax. It was a matrix for the development of gay liberation theory throughout the Seventies.

In the early 1970s, following the Stonewall rebellion, there was an explosion in gay and lesbian publishing throughout the West. In most countries, including Canada, gay periodicals situated themselves within a broad radical movement that included gay liberation, the New Left and feminism. In the United States, however, the radical wing of the gay movement was quickly marginalized, and control of mass-circulation gay media passed to private entrepreneurs with liberal, or even conservative, politics: A case in point was the late David Goodstein's takeover of The Advocate, a southern California biweekly news magazine with the largest circulation of any gay periodical in the world. Only a few major US papers, such as Boston's Gay Community News, have maintained a radical perspective.

For the average North American gay man, the most visible and accessible gay periodicals have been the glossy skin magazines that appeared in the mid-1970s, beginning with Blueboy. While borrowing the general format and visual style of magazines like Penthouse, gay soft porn has remained much more marginal, both culturally and economically.

The annexation of Canadian audiences to the US domestic market is particularly evident in gay publishing. Canada has, effectively, no commercial gay publishing industry, and unlike Sweden and Australia, no gay periodical that pays its writers. (This was true as of January, 1987. With the demise of TBP, the situation is subject to change.) In the absence of domestic competition, American gay magazines frequently sell better in Canada than in the US. Canadians typically constitute 20% of the readership of magazines like Mandate and First Hands—provided the magazines are allowed through Customs. Ironically, by depending on volunteer labour, TBP may have delayed the development of a Canadian periodical industry that could support gay writers economically.

Canadian English-language periodical publishing is characterized by its concentration in Toronto, even more than by US domination. If Canada is culturally peripheral to the US, it is also a country of regions that remain peripheral to the centre. Canadians outside Ontario inhabit colonies within a colony. A progressive cultural institution such as TBP must locate itself in relation to both these contradictions.

Through most of existence, TBP was the principal—often the only—national institution of gay liberation in English Canada. Only one other serious attempt has been made at (local) national gay/lesbian organizing. From 1975 to 1979, the National Gay Rights Coalition (later renamed the Canadian Lesbian and Gay Rights Coalition) provided a political structure to complement TBP. The Coalition founded on the usual perils of Canadian gay institutions, respectively: regionalism and lesbian (in)visibility. With its demise, it fell again to TBP to knit together the diverse gay and lesbian communities of English Canada. TBP, however, was uncomfortable in this role.

TBP reflected the urban gay political culture of Toronto. The circumstances of gay life outside Toronto are often very different from those in the metropolis. For a decade, as a correspondent, I represented TBP to the Atlantic provinces, and the region to TBP. This presented both practical and conceptual problems. TBP accompanied "hard" news (demonstrations, legislation, arrests) more easily than "soft": organizing efforts, social events, developments that unfold gradually. The practices of collecting information by long distance telephone, and "parachuting" reporters into a community, had particularly unfortunate results. Atlantic gays frequently complained that TBP was too Toronto oriented, and reported Atlantic news too briefly, and inaccurately.

An activist publication, The Body Politic made news as well as reporting it, and was engaged in criminal trials or lawsuits through much of its existence. The most celebrated was its December, 1977 publication of Gerald Hamon's "Men Loving Boys Loving Men," an article on pedophilia that led to charges of using the mails to distribute "immoral, indecent and scandulous" materials.

TBP was twice acquitted (the first time on Valentine's Day, 1979) before Ontario's Attorney General abandoned his harassment of the magazine, whose legal costs exceeded $50,000. Despite some unease about the article's subject matter, TBP built a solid coalition of gays, feminists and civil libertarians for one of Canada's most important censorship trials. TBP was also instrumental in mobilizing the Toronto gay community's response to the bath raids of February 5, 1981.

The decision to suspend publication, made by the Body Politic Collective of Pink Triangle Press, is the subject of some contention. For documents relative to that debate, see the final issue itself, number 135, February 1987, for Rick Rébaut's explanatory article, "What happened?" and a typically boisterous letters section; and Now Magazine, for Glen Wheeler's news article, "Burping The Body Politic" (Jan 8-14), and the letters in the subsequent two issues. My subject here is The Body Politic in its historical context.
A NATIONAL CONTEXT

The Body Politic never clearly indicated to what extent it saw national organizing as part of its mandate, making it difficult to confront the paper with its failures in this regard. From 1983, when Pink Ink and its successor, Rites, provided a second national voice, their relationship with TBP was soured on both sides by petty competitiveness. These papers formalized the equal participation of lesbians, explicitly sought a national audience, and promised local correspondents greater input. Unfortunately, Rites, burdened with a dreary visual and literary style, skimming of political self-righteousness, lacked the organizational and design competence of TBP. Except for an abortive attempt by the short-lived Pink Ink, writers have not been offered payment.

Following the 1981 bath raids, the Right to Privacy Committee, which coordinated the legal defense of the "found-ins," took over some of TBP's leadership role within Toronto. Rivalry between the two groups was both practical, (RTPC complained about a lack of cooperation from TBP), and ideological. Scott Tucker's July/August 1982 feature article, "Our Right to the World," criticized the right to privacy as a slogan and advocated a defense of public sex. Ken Pope's side column, "Public Sexuality and Social Space," gave one of the clearest formulations of TBP's general ideological line: "Bars and bath are to the gay movement what factories are to the labour movement: the context in which masses of people acquire a shared sense of identity and the ability to act together for the common good...Gays and lesbians who are content to live and love within the couple have to wake up to the fact that it is their promiscuous brothers (and, increasingly, sisters) who make the gay movement possible."

In 1985 TBP accepted a personal ad from a white man seeking a black partner to act out the role of his personal servant, or houseboy. The nature of the advertised position was ambiguous: was it employment or consensual sex play? After vigorous protests from gays of colour, and a serious split within the Collective, the issue was resolved by the adoption of a more restrictive policy.

Needless to say, the AIDS crisis caught TBP theoretically off-guard. Against the moral hypostasis of the New York gay press, TBP continued to uphold the theory and practice of promiscuity. Faced with a new sexual conservatism and accusations of racism and sexism, however, TBP became increasingly defensive, reduced to ideological damage control.

The Body Politic declined noticeably in its last years, in both readership and editorial content. The paper's original core group were becoming exhausted, as they approached middle age with no financial security. This "kitchen collective," some of whom had lived together communally in the early years, dominated the paper for so long that their replacement by a younger generation was impossible without major disruption.

The loss of its dominant institution comes at a time of transition in the Canadian gay movement. An opening exists for a broader range of gay periodical writing, particularly fiction. Several groups, including Pink Triangle Press, are planning new periodicals, both theoretical journals and "lifestyle" glossies. Ironically, Canada Custom's recent harassment of American gay porn could have similar effects to the wartime embargo on comic books, and assist the establishment of a professional gay press.

The interests of the national movement might be better served by a journal from outside Toronto, one more receptive to the politics of the hinterland. Given the concentration of human resources in Toronto, however, this seems unlikely. Wherever located, any new national Canadian gay periodical will build on a foundation laid by TBP.

Robin Metalfe is a freelance writer in Halifax.
1986

YEAR BY YEAR, THE SPIRIT OF THE HAVANA FILM FESTIVAL IS BORNE ON WINDS OF POLITICAL FEELING THAT BLOW FROM NICARAGUA AND EL SALVADOR, CHILE, BRAZIL AND ARGENTINA.

Accordingly, the mass media in the USA ignore the festival (though Variety now reports it), but this only goads the Cubans to greater effort, and in other camps they win friends. Reports on the Festival have recently been featured on public service television arts programmes in Spain and Britain, for example.

There's a curious contrast between the politicization of a number of leading festivals in the Western European bloc, and the commercial respectability of Moscow, the most bureaucratized and apolitical of the festivals I have attended. Havana is the opposite of this too. Year by year, the spirit of the Havana Film Festival is borne on winds of political feeling that blow from Nicaragua and El Salvador, Chile, Brazil and Argentina. (Perhaps Moscow will be changing now.) I've not yet had the chance to visit Leipzig, but would guess that it is the closest in the socialist country of Europe to the model of a film makers' forum adopted in Havana, where the politics are anti-imperialist and they count in the award of prizes. But the judging in Havana is more imaginative. The year before last was particularly notable in this respect: the first prize for full-length fiction was shared by the two most audacious films, Paul Leduc's Frío, Naturaleza Vida (Mexico) and Tangos, El Estilo de Gardel by Fernando Solanas (Argentina); titles significantly difficult to render into English, for the oddity of them—naturalmente now is the Spanish for "still life"—signals their anti-generic quality. Both of them are ambitious, experimental, postmodern in their anti-narrativity, the first based on the paintings of Frida Kahlo, the second on choreographed tango (for which the film itself invents the untranslatable neologism tanguedanzada), allegorical tresttries of representation and exile respectively, which greatly exploit the pleasure, the joie de vivre.

The vibrancy of Havana as its best arises primarily because Latin American cinema is still relatively young. The movement which the Havana Film Festival celebrates was born only in the 50s. When examples first arrived at film festivals in Europe in the ferment of the 60s, it helped to rejuvenate European ideas about cinema and the medium of film: the shock of The Hour of the Furnaces at Pesaro in 1968, the encounter of Rocha and Godard, are moments in this history as notorious as the eruption of the Oberhausen Manifesto, the invasion of Cannes, or Godard punching his producer in the nose on the stage of the National Film Theatre in London and walking out of the premiere of One Plus One (a.k.a. Sympathy for the Devil!). (The producer had overruled how Godard wanted the soundtrack at the end of the film; Godard appealed to the audience to leave, pay the price of their tickets to a fund for Eldridge Cleaver—if I remember rightly—and watch the free screening of his own version outside. The London Film Festival was extremely fair about it: they gave people refunds, and provided cables to power Godard's projector.)

The New Latin American Cinema has changed since those heady days too, though to say it has lost its sense of direction would be going too far. Principally what has happened is an enormous expansion of production, with many more people producing more work in more formats and more varied circumstances; inevitably there is more diversity. Equally, much of it is rough-hewn with a sense of urgency, but then this was always true. Symptomatically, the movement has discovered its own maestros in directors who have created new paradigms for the movement, like Brazil's Nelson Pereira dos Santos, Cuba's Tomas Gutierrez Alea, and...
HAVANA FILM FESTIVAL

Argentinas’s Fernando Birri, the last an inspirational econo who now directs the new International Film School at San Antonio de los Bâños near Havana, which was opened by Fidel Castro during last December's Festival. These figures are not, however, like so many past masters in Europe, played out. In the past few years, Cuba has built the notable critical Hasta cierto puntu (Up to a Point), Birri a remarkable documentary portrait of his friend the poet Rafael Alberti, dos Santos a work commanding strength in Memorias de carretera. All three are working on new productions.

In this respect when I look back at Europe from Havana, I don’t think of Bergman, Antonioni and Fellini, but Rafael, Renais, and Wajda. As they did, the Latin Americans regard as half their own—Havana has commemorated them with a retrospective—and his final European films are more than a background of magical realism, which is why he seems still alive. Renais they respect, but would criticize as being too cerebral. There are certainly no parallels, unless a new Argentinian Film, Hombre mirando a la luna (In Search of the Moon) by Elio Soria, has the same sense of the world, and a sense of the sense of the present. By the way, Argentinian cinema has emerged since the Colonels were in power, with a new sense of love, and a new vision of the world. Cuba I don’t know, and Brazil, or the body of work in the whole of Latin America, though Brazil still holds its own.

When it comes to Wajda, Cubans have a nagging problem about his political trajectory, but a remarkable new Brazilian film presents an exhilarating lesson in uncensored parallelism; seen at Havana outside competition, and also at the excellent Latin American Film Conference in Iowa last October, Tieta Yamamoto’s Farandula (Relent Country). Dating from 1984 and the months of pre-electoral ferment, she has taken a trio of characters, and using the direct filming technique which Wajda exploited in his Solidarity films, Man of Marble and Man of Iron, inserted them into the scenario and scenes of popular agitation of the moment. As in Wajda too, the central protagonist is a young woman journalist. Even though I saw a visual echo in a shot where she walks away from camera along a corridor with a swinging gait and her bag slung over her shoulder, but at Iowa, Yamamoto herself told me she hadn’t been aware of the parallel. Perhaps it is all the more remarkable if the shot is not an homage, for then the parallel exists in the two directors’ independent inspiration to establish their relationship to the immediate political environment in this way.

The symbiotic attraction of fictive and documentary reality is nothing new, of course, to Latin American cinema. The Cubans especially have explored the ways they can be made to interlock in earlier films, like AlRe’s Memorias del subdesarrollo (Memories of Underdevelopment) and San José’s De cierta manera (One Way or Another), films belonging to the current of effervescence which peaked in Cuba at the end of the 60s but was shared throughout the continent. However, the intense creative experimentation of these years, which included the most striking films by directors as different as Glauber Rocha, Humberto Solas, Jorge Sanjinés and Miguel Littin, is now no longer in evidence. Frida and Tangos were still the last of the crop, that is it is precisely what makes Havana such an important festival. It would be important anyway as a forum of cultural politics, but it has grown in eight years to become the focus of a great deal of fervent hope, the serious desire to recapture the inspirational moment.

I often came away from earlier festivals in Havana feeling that the films were less important individually than the sense of the presence of a continent whose invisibility as much to itself as to us. There was an infectious sense of self-discovery. People were more in agreement with the distribution of prizes than at any other festivals I’ve attended; that was because the juries were representative, and film makers felt judged by their peers. This is still true, but perhaps a turning point has been reached. The Festival last December was the largest ever, with more resources invested in it by the Government than before; the stage management of the awards ceremony at the end is now a cross between a political rally and the Academy Awards. The Festival has been expanded to include video and television (which makes it almost unwieldy); perhaps the sections should run consecutively instead of concurrently. There are more cinemas and viewing rooms in use, with new projectors for both film and video; there are retrospectives as well as competition and market screenings, music and dancing at night and the most marvellously festive atmosphere.

It is ironic, then, that Cuban cinema itself is weaker than it was, fifteen years ago, long before the Festival was thought of. It is mistaken to think this is because the creative force of the Revolution has waned, simply that the film makers in Cuba have lost their zangaditoismo, above all to the plastic artists (as reported in the recent edition of Social Text on "Contemporary Cuban Culture"). In fact, if the Cubans have always been intensely conscious of the power of the media in ideological combat, today they perceive more clearly the symbiosis between the struggle against external hegemony and the health of the country’s internal.

In memory of Jorge Silva

Michael Chan

media. There is new emphasis on the need to develop critical attitudes. Film has even recently declared that "just and timely criticism is mightier than a state, mightier than a party." This was a month before the 1968 Film Festival, at the closing session of the Congress of the Journalists Union in November, where he explained in more prosaic terms that there needs to be more cooperation between journalists and officials of the Party and State. The idea was not to wait for news to turn up but to go out and look for it, find out what was going wrong, follow it up. There is fresh determination abroad in Cuba to grapple with things straight up, suggesting certain parallels with the Soviet Union but independently arrived at. There is a great deal of energy, and a lot of it is focused on the media. The Film Festival has been co-opted into the general effort, and public attendance at the festival was half a million (an excellent number, especially when cinema attendance in Cuba is falling). It was often front page news, with plenty of coverage on the inside pages too. There were video camera everywhere, and a closed circuit TV channel for the festival itself, with clips and interviews and news from morning to midnight. Inevitably the Festival is losing the intimacy of its first few years and this time there was less consensus over the prizes. But the exchange of opinions about them in the bars and around the hotel swimming pools, and the debate in the special seminars, the main one last December was on women —was passionate, intense and impressive.

For myself, I was delighted that Julie Christie became the first English winner of a prize at Havana when she shared the best actress award for the title role in Miss Mary, and accepted it modestly with four words: "Machas gracias, America Latina." (This was not so much, on my part, a patriotic response as the brief hope that it might just help to catch some attention for the Festival from the press back home). The Brazilian Fernanda Torres, who shared the prize, deserved it equally for her bravura performance in Yo se que te voy a enamorar, but I liked this film by Armando Labor a lot less than the Argentinian picture directed by Maria Luisa Benberg, Miss Mary—about an English governess in Argentina in the 30s—as an allegory about social illusions, those of the Argentinian bourgeois about English culture, those of the English about Argentina. The other is a piece of self-enclosed experimentalism about a young couple engaged in the In the latter’s film, the characters, which would work much better on stage or as a television two-hander. Both were popular, but among different camps.
The top prize was also divided fairly-handsomely, between the latest film by Alberto Sorda, *Un hombre de exito*, and a first feature by the 64-year-old Brazilian director Zuzana Amaral, *La Hora de la corriente*. This was a moral and political opposition between two brothers, with the emphasis on political opposition. Unfortunately it is relatively inaccessible to an audience without a good working knowledge of pre-Revolutionary Cuban history, and by those who know, I am told it is open to the criticism that it misrepresents the behaviour of the Cuban anarcho bourgeois. It is a beautifully shot (Lívio Delgado won the award for best cinematography), and includes an exceptional nude scene directed by the doyenne of Cuban actresses, Raquel Revuelta. The film by Zuzana Amaral is altogether more accessible, a gentle portrait, both moving and humorous, of the cultural deprivation of a young woman from the North East who goes to Sao Paulo in search of work and a husband; an important addition to the work of feminist film makers in Brazil, already the largest group in the continent.

I greatly enjoyed Murcós Zúñiga's *La Gran fiesta*, easily the best movie I've yet seen from former FARC, and again because of its allegorical qualities. The genre is a social drama crossed with a Second World War spy story unfolding at a society ball, with amorous and political themes and characters intertwined and some pyrotechnics editing. E.G. Marshall appears as Governor Tugwell; the photography is classy; the music marvellous; and there's a brilliant guest appearance by Raúl Juliá. It was not as popular, however, as the Argentine film *Homenaje al soldado de la patria* directed by Eliseo Subiela, another strongly allegorical essay but perhaps as befits the country of Borges a metaphysical one. Hugo Soto and Lorenzo Quinteros play a kind of dual protagonist, the one a long-suffering patient at a mental hospital, a Christ-like figure among the inmates, whom the other, a psychoanalyst, discovers to have a remarkable intelligence quotient. The psychiatrist is kind and humane, his patient benign: humanity split between two different kinds of intellect. The only thing wrong with the patient is his claim to be an extraterrestrial. The portrayal of his special powers climax a virtuoso sequence which impelled the Cuban audience to applause, where the extraterrestrial leads a strangely baroque dance at an open-air concert to the last moments of Beethoven's Choral Symphony, and to cup it, mounts the podium and takes the baton from the conductor, with remarkable consequences.

**FIDEL HAS RECENTLY DECLARED THAT "JUST AND TIMELY CRITICISM IS MIGHTIER THAN A STATE, MIGHTIER THAN A PARTY!"**

At the previous year's Festival, *Beethoven's Choral* cropped up twice, sung in a Spanish version of Schiller's poems (the poem originally entitled "Ode to Freedom"). Once was in Marlene Franca's documentary tribute to the Brazilian liberation priest Frei Tito, whose imprisonment drove to his suicide; it is the anthem in the cathedral at his funeral. The second time was in an anonymous video from Chile, where it was sung in the streets in Santiago beneath the banners of the women proclaiming "Somos mara." Though the new Argentine film is uneven, the orchestra sequence was the most thrilling I saw this year in Havana, symbol of the deep level at which the cultural process is at work in Latin America: the way it ingests the cultural icons of its imperialized past and revalorizes them—for a Cuban audience as much as the visiting European.

The film which moved me most, however, was Jorge Durán's *El color de tu destino*, a Brazilian production about Chileans in exile which left a deep impression on many viewers, but also divided opinion. It is impossible to do justice to such a richly complex film without another viewing. Here is a coming of age story. Protagonist: an adolescent trying to exercise the memory of his older brother killed in the aftermath of the coup against Allende. Subplot: his burgeoning sexuality, relations with girls. Character: sensitive type, with artistic talent. Except that these elements are not hierarchical in the film; they are expertly interwoven, with the narrative rhythms of the French rather than the North American examples of genre. However, it was criticized for its milieu: Chilean exiles don't always live in middle class comfort. I cannot explain its considerable effect without speaking of another film, which didn't manage to reach Havana but was shown a couple of months earlier at the University of Iowa Conference. Martha Malo's *Journal Incendiathe she now lives in Quebec—is the most extraordinary example I've seen of a genre which Chilean film makers have themselves created, the film of exile, which Zuzana Pick at the Iowa conference perceptively described as quintessentially multilingual (like several films by Raúl Ruiz, none of them seen in Havana). This is a deeply reflexive film in the style of a self-observational documentary, the remarkable manner in which the film maker probes the most delicate and elusive aspects of exile behaviour and her relationship with her husband (a Canadian film maker) gains its subtle force from her feminist integrity. *El color de tu destino*, which is likewise traced in the clash of comprehension of different tongues, approaches, I think, a similar honesty about adolescent male experience. Both, in any case, are films which deserve to be seen as widely as possible.

At the Iowa Latin American Cinema Conference there was a lively discussion on the question of the identity of the movement. Ana Lopez, Cuban-born film theorist at Tulane University, argued with lucidity that we shouldn't talk any longer of the New Latin American Cinema in the singular, but of the new cinemas in the plural, because that is what the movement, through its very growth, has become. This is signally different from the view of a number of Latin American film critics who don't visit Havana, that the movement only exists in the imagination of political wishful thinkers and it's never really had an identity. Fernando Birri counters with such notions by speaking of the movement as the active desire for utopia, not of everyone, but of a few who are voluntary. But that's precisely where it gains half its energy, and the point is that sometimes the place to go and refuse.

Michael Chanon is a writer and film maker. He is the author of *The Dream that Kicks* (RRP 1980) and editor of *Twenty-Five Years of New Latin American Cinema* (RFF 1983) and has made a number of documentary films of Latin American Cinema and on music for Channel 4, and the BBC. He is currently working for the Cuban director Yomdi Gutiérrez Aza on the feature film *Caliban*, based on Shakespeare's Tempest.
THE DECLINE OF THE FEMINIST UTOPIAN NOVEL

"Although Margaret Atwood is very aware of the problems and pitfalls of modern society, she offers us little inspiration. She has been "political" for years, yet her politics still lack focus and vision. Have we not been subjected to enough doomsday scenarios, as in The Handmaid's Tale? ..." - F.de Jong, Letter to Now magazine (Toronto), 6-12 Nov 1986.

The Handmaid's Tale involves mentioning Brave New World and 1984, rather than acknowledging the feminist-derived revival of utopian fiction in the 1970s. While such a development may seem understandable in the age of Maloney and Reagan, it needs some further discussion. In this essay I will briefly describe both the original utopian movement in feminist fiction, as well as the retreat from that position, as a prelude to questioning the relative merits of the implicit political strategies in the two positions. Of course asking such questions implies that as a critic I have the right to talk about works of popular fiction as having a political function. If that isn't what critics should be doing, the goal of social transformation is a dead issue and we might as well join the Conservative Party and start building our bomb shelters. As for taking these novels in such a literal or political way - the opposite of how we are taught to read - it seems foolish and obtuse to ignore the deliberate engagement of these works with feminist issues.

I. THE UTOPIAN MOMENT

The classics of the feminist utopian revival of the 1970s were largely written within the generic boundaries of science fiction and fantasy, and include: Suzy McKee Charnas, Motherlines (1979); and Sally Gehrman, The Wunderground (1978); Ursula K. LeGuin, The Dispossessed (1975); Marge Piercy, Woman on the Edge of Time (1976); and Joanna Russ, The Female Man (1975). To these should be added two utopian novels written by men with feminist overtones, Ernst Callenbach, Ecotopia (1975) and Samuel Delany, Triton, (1970).

Like The Handmaid's Tale, Sally Gehrman's The Wunderground also portrays a backlash against the growing strength of women and gays. But here the backlash prompts "the revolt of the Earth herself": outside the city men suddenly become impotent, while machines and mechanical devices no longer function. Although the men establish a patriarchal police state in the cities, the core of the novel is the evacuation of a utopian world of the women in the countryside. This focus on the depiction of new societies organized around egalitarian and cooperative principles is characteristic of all of the above novels, although some go further than just describing the utopian society by raising questions about the possibility of utopia (in Delany and LeGuin), or by concentrating on the transition to the new society (in Russ, and in Piercy). Because they emphasize the changed lives of their characters and describe the alternate societies which would make new patterns of behaviour and interpersonal relations possible, these works provide the reader with an experience, however limited, of what a better world, beyond sexual hierarchy and domination, might look and feel like. It is worth mentioning, too, that their political effectiveness is enhanced for the very reasons that they are often ignored by mainstream critics.

Written primarily within the context of popular fiction, they are able to reach beyond the already converted to touch a wide audience. However, with one exception to which I shall return, this utopian moment seems to have ended. More recent fiction no longer gives us images of a radically different future in which the values and ideals of feminism have been extended to much of the planet, but depressing images of a brutal re-establishment of capitalist patriarchy.

II. THE RETREAT FROM UTOPIA

ATTENTION ALL MEN:

The Patriarchial Network is where (straight) men learn about:

- The growing movement of heterosexual men who are refusing to be ripped-off by scheming feminist-goldiggers in palmwory, alimony, paternity, property division and child custody & child support schemes (The Men's Rights Movement).
- The International Patriarchy
- Patriarchal Spirituality
- Guidebook to Brothels (Where Houses) around the world (Live with a foreign girlfriend for hire in an apartment for a week or longer).

DON'T SUBMIT TO A FEMINIST-LESBIAN TAKEOVER. RESIST!!!

Don't delay. Take a Tab and send for Free Information Today*

*(Poster removed from telephone pole at the corner of Bush and Fillmore in San Francisco, October 1985)

The transition from utopia to dystopia can be seen in Zoe Fairbairn's novel Benefit (1979), which was written in Britain at the end of what I am calling the utopian period. It is set in the near future in the context of Britain's worsening economic plight. All social welfare programmes are suspended except for the equivalent of the "baby bonus": a "Benefit" which will be paid directly to the mother, but only to mothers who do not work outside the home. However, rather than leading to a strengthening of the family and its traditional values (as intended by the right wing Family Party), the benefit has two related effects which lead the government to conclude that it is a failure: on the one hand, lower income families "breed" as a way of increasing their income; on the other, many women are able, thanks to the Benefit, to live, with other women, outside the system and its embodiment of the nuclear family.

Because they emphasize the changed lives of their characters and describe the alternate societies which would make new patterns of behaviour and interpersonal relations possible, the utopian feminist novels of the 1970's provide the reader with an experience, however limited, of what a better world, beyond sexual hierarchy and domination, might look and feel like.
Atwood's apparent willingness to hold up the present as "better" than any other future may explain the enthusiasm for this novel expressed by many of its mainstream reviewers who ignored the outpouring of feminist utopian writing a decade earlier.

The government then announces that the Benefit will be withdrawn from "untfit" mothers, namely those who do not live according to traditional family norms. But as Britain's economy continues to women, European planners help to implement even more drastic "social planning" experiments: the widespread--and often forced--placement of "contraceptive pellets" in women. When women find ways to remove the pellets, the planners put a contraceptive in the water supply. Women deemed "suitable" for motherhood are to apply at a Women's Centre for an antidote, but the antide reacts with the contraceptive, producing massive deformities and rendering British women "unsuitable as vehicles for carrying unborn children."

This is not, however, the end of the novel. Although there is a possibility that it may be generations--or never--until British women are again able to bear children, a younger and more militant generation of women argue that this is their chance:

Why should we not build a society in which love and respect are--so to speak--negotiable currency? We have a lot of time, sisters. We have all the time we once spent on our domestic duties. Think of what that means! We have the ultimate bargaining weapon. We will have babies again when we are good and ready; when our society is a fit place to bring them.

From this catastrophe emerges an even stronger commitment to the utopian goals of a society which will finally be "a fit place to bring [babies]." "Benefits" is certainly not a utopia; but it does not end in despair either. It demonstrates an increasing bitterness towards the continuing exploitation of women--particularly their unpaid labour in the home--and to governments' attempts to control their fertility: "Our women are going to be the first to find a style of life that isn't defined by men having power over us because we have children."

While I cannot adequately review here the various manifestations of the state's attempts to regulate sexuality and fertility, it is increasingly apparent that the struggle of women to gain control of their own bodies and their own fertility is perceived as a critical threat by the Christian right. Even as I write, a number of Conservative MPs in the Ontario Legislature are opposing legislation which would prohibit discrimination against homosexuals because, in the words of the Rev. William Davis (Scarborough Centre), "the value of the family is being threatened." The right's preoccupation with protecting "traditional values" at the expense of individual rights and freedoms is explicitly linked to fertility in the comments of another MPP (Noble Villeneuve) who stated that "a ban on discrimination against homosexuals in Quebec has led to a fall in the province's birthrate."

The attitudes expressed in that debate are central to The Handmaid's Tale. There, in a near future in which people have become increasingly alarmed by a declining birthrate (explained in the novel as being caused by the various forms of pollution to which we are exposed as much as by conscious decision), the Christian Right stages a violent takeover and establishes a theocratic "Republic of Gilead" throughout much of the US. The renewed regulation--for breeding purposes--of women's bodies marks the triumph of the Moral Majority and its "family protection" agenda. The "traditional" values of the nuclear family are forcibly reestablished, while always means worse for some..."

The attitudes expressed in that debate are central to The Handmaid's Tale. There, in a near future in which people have become increasingly alarmed by a declining birthrate (explained in the novel as being caused by the various forms of pollution to which we are exposed as much as by conscious decision), the Christian Right stages a violent takeover and establishes a theocratic "Republic of Gilead" throughout much of the US. The renewed regulation--for breeding purposes--of women's bodies marks the triumph of the Moral Majority and its "family protection" agenda. The "traditional" values of the nuclear family are forcibly reestablished, while always means worse for some..."

The attitudes expressed in that debate are central to The Handmaid's Tale. There, in a near future in which people have become increasingly alarmed by a declining birthrate (explained in the novel as being caused by the various forms of pollution to which we are exposed as much as by conscious decision), the Christian Right stages a violent takeover and establishes a theocratic "Republic of Gilead" throughout much of the US. The renewed regulation--for breeding purposes--of women's bodies marks the triumph of the Moral Majority and its "family protection" agenda. The "traditional" values of the nuclear family are forcibly reestablished, while always means worse for some..."

The attitudes expressed in that debate are central to The Handmaid's Tale. There, in a near future in which people have become increasingly alarmed by a declining birthrate (explained in the novel as being caused by the various forms of pollution to which we are exposed as much as by conscious decision), the Christian Right stages a violent takeover and establishes a theocratic "Republic of Gilead" throughout much of the US. The renewed regulation--for breeding purposes--of women's bodies marks the triumph of the Moral Majority and its "family protection" agenda. The "traditional" values of the nuclear family are forcibly reestablished, while always means worse for some..."

The attitudes expressed in that debate are central to The Handmaid's Tale. There, in a near future in which people have become increasingly alarmed by a declining birthrate (explained in the novel as being caused by the various forms of pollution to which we are exposed as much as by conscious decision), the Christian Right stages a violent takeover and establishes a theocratic "Republic of Gilead" throughout much of the US. The renewed regulation--for breeding purposes--of women's bodies marks the triumph of the Moral Majority and its "family protection" agenda. The "traditional" values of the nuclear family are forcibly reestablished, while always means worse for some..."

The attitudes expressed in that debate are central to The Handmaid's Tale. There, in a near future in which people have become increasingly alarmed by a declining birthrate (explained in the novel as being caused by the various forms of pollution to which we are exposed as much as by conscious decision), the Christian Right stages a violent takeover and establishes a theocratic "Republic of Gilead" throughout much of the US. The renewed regulation--for breeding purposes--of women's bodies marks the triumph of the Moral Majority and its "family protection" agenda. The "traditional" values of the nuclear family are forcibly reestablished, while always means worse for some..."

The attitudes expressed in that debate are central to The Handmaid's Tale. There, in a near future in which people have become increasingly alarmed by a declining birthrate (explained in the novel as being caused by the various forms of pollution to which we are exposed as much as by conscious decision), the Christian Right stages a violent takeover and establishes a theocratic "Republic of Gilead" throughout much of the US. The renewed regulation--for breeding purposes--of women's bodies marks the triumph of the Moral Majority and its "family protection" agenda. The "traditional" values of the nuclear family are forcibly reestablished, while always means worse for some..."
infants before the age of forty." What distinguishes this novel from the dystopian future of "The Handmaid's Tale," at least to many of feminist readers, is that despite this repressive situation the women linguists have developed in the privacy of their "Baren House" (where no longer fertile, they live communally), a uniquely women's language, one which they hope will change the world by changing the way that women look at and construct reality.

Written and published as science fiction, this novel's serious intentions can be seen in the "Editor's Note" at the beginning of the book: "This is a novel about the women's language in the novel: 'We are informed that an early grammar and dictionary of Laadan are available to those interested. For further information, write to Laadan, Route 4, Box 192-E, Huntsville AR 72740, and be sure to enclose a stamped self-addressed envelope.'"

Although not everyone may agree with my insistence that these three novels are overwhelmingly pessimistic, we can at least agree that their futuristic visions illustrate a frightening and depressing reaction to the gains women won over the past two decades. Written from three relatively different literary contexts and from three different countries, they mark an end to the feminist utopianism of the 1970s.

There is one significant exception--Ursula K. Le Guin's "Always Coming Home." But in an entirely different way, it too demonstrates that retreat.

For those of you who are familiar with "Le Guin's work, "Always Coming Home" is a return to her roots, both in the sense of her anthropological origins (her parents were anthropologists and her mother, Theodora Kroeber, wrote the influential "The Ways of the Last Stone Age Man" which played an important part in the utopian redécision of North American indigenous cultures in the 1960s); and in the sense of similarities with the organization of her earlier work, "The Left Hand of Darkness.""

Often Coming Home" is 525 pages long and includes a cassette of the music and poetry of the Kesh people. The reader enters the book with a narrative--Part I of the "Stone Telling" (the three "Stone Telling" sections total just over 100 pages)--but this story is soon replaced by the bits and pieces of Kesh oral and verbal culture which make up the book. These include poems, mups, legends, autobiographies, drawings, music, jokes, plays, a diary, and some recipes. Rather than construct this society using a narrative, "Always Coming Home" is a non-linear collection of information which it up to the reader to put together, in the manner of a kit.

At the same time, like "The Dispossessed," the raison d'être of this book (it is hard to call it a novel for all of the reasons I am describing), the implied reasons for wanting to describe a "people which might be going to have lived a long, long time from now in Northern California," are clearly utopian. Moreover, the happy, pastoral society of the Kesh is contrasted to a patriarchal, militaristic Censor People who can be seen as a figure of our own society and its course toward destruction.

In a lovely valley the Kesh people live and work close to the natural in a way which is obviously satisfying and culturally rich. But this account of their lives is restrained. Le Guin's modest utopianism is unclear how much a wonderful new Northern California came to be, or what happened to the rest of the world. While this may be quibbling, the earlier '70s utopias I referred to--particularly those of Piercy and Russo--not only depicted the entire planet, but also addressed the issue of how we got there from here. While there is certainly much that is valuable in Le Guin's vision, I prefer novels which answer those questions.

III. UTOPIAN/DYSTOPIAN STRATEGIES

If we don't call the post-feminist biographies we might someday face a situation where MAC and other mainstream women's organizations feel compelled to back pedal on their support of gay rights and other issues deemed too radical. Perhaps even abortion. It might come one day to be a flagrant and social act for women to wear long hair and pants. "The Handmaid's Tale anybody?"

Susan Cronyn, "Post-Feminism and Power Dressing: Who Says the Women's Movement Has Run Out of Steam?" in This Magazine XX, 4 (October/November 1980)

In the closing years of Reagan's second term there are increasing attempts to roll back the gains of the '70s--developmental states may teach us all--despite Atwood's wishful insularity of Canada from the rise of the right in her novel. While it is easy to equate the apparent decline in utopian writing with larger events and to see the novels I've described as ominous signs of what may lie ahead, my concern here is not with the accuracy of such visions, but with their impact: what effects do these more pessimistic works have on readers, particularly when compared to the utopian writing of the previous decade? What are the political strategies which are implicit in works which depict the future and the struggle of women in a pessimistic or cautionary way, as opposed to earlier visions of a future structured by feminist principles and ideals? More bluntly, what serves the building of a new society best? The evocation of images of a better future along with indications of how we get there? Or, at a time of increasing threats, does it make more sense to try to warn people that the battle is far from won?

The argument that we need cautionary tales resembles the familiar critique of utopianism. The move away from utopian writing and the turn to more realistic visions of the future is a way of maintaining our vigilance and anger. The building of a better society does not need images of a better world, this argument goes, but the energy, anger and strategy to change this one. Utopian visions too quickly slip to the alternative, and too quickly forget the intermediate fight.

* Since this article was written Bill 7 was approved in the British legislature despite the persistent opposition of most Conservative MPs.


Peter Fitting teaches French and science fiction at the University of Toronto. He works at the Marriott Institute and is part of the editorial collective at borderlines.
THE 'FRAMING' OF JACQUES HEBERT:

The second approach focuses on how news is shaped by the routines of the news-gathering process. Through an organizational analysis of the relationship of the media and their sources, yet another pervasive bias is detected: the media depend on established elites for authoritative sources and are therefore biased towards official viewpoints. According to Gaye Tuchman, journalists find the raw material for their stories by observing the world from central locations. The "sawned" is cast out every day to haul in the "big fish" that can be caught on the site of legitimate institutions, mostly state bureaucracies: the police headquarters, the court house, City Hall, and so deeply embedded in the dominant discourse that they have become "naturalized," invisible. Journalists, like the rest of us, acquire them through their upbringing, and they are, furthermore, reinforced by their colleagues and superiors in the news organization. The news accounts which are judged to be "objective" tacitly incorporate these assumptions.

What are these dominant values? Todd Gitlin, who has studied the framing process through a meticulous examination of the news coverage of the radical student left in New York Times and CBS News, between 1965-70, has suggested that the core principles which

The first of these looks at the constraint imposed upon reporting by the news story form itself. The form, it is argued, incorporates its own biases quite independent of the journalist using it. Such practices as personalization, preoccupation with conflict and confrontation, abstracting events from their social and historical contexts, emphasizing ruptures in normal routines and deviant behaviour, all these are to be understood, to quote Kathleen Knight, "as a function of a particular methodology for knowing and not knowing the world" (1982:24). In addition the expectation that open-ended happenings can be made into news-stories requires the use of standardized narrative devices, including stock characters. News often unfolds like medieval morality plays with an updated cast: the Politician, the Activist, the Expert, the Deviant, the Victim.

the Legislature. The information acquired by reporters on these sites relies purely on the records of the organizations, records which are made selectively available to the media. Furthermore, the media itself plays a role in legitimizing these institutions. The placement of reporters on these locations reinforces the legitimacy of the organizations themselves. Tuchman's own work is based on observing news production both in newsrooms and television studios, concludes that through this symbiotic relationship with its sources "the activities of American news professionals are geared to maintaining the American political system as much as the work of Soviet journalists is geared to preserving that nation's political system" (1978:99-100).

The third approach - the one most pertinent to the news analysis offered here - looks at the substantive ideological assumptions which "frame" news accounts. There is a set of political values, it is argued, which are form the bedrock of the hegemonic ideology are "the legitimacy of private control of commodity production; the legitimacy of technological experts; the right and ability of authorized agencies to manage conflict and make necessary reforms; the legitimacy of the social order secured and defined by dominant elites; and the value of individualism as the measure of social existence" (1980:271). News worthy individuals and groups who are seen to function within this ideological consensus stand a chance of getting the even-handed treatment that professional journalism ethics refers to as "objectivity" or "fairness." At least they are taken seriously enough to become legitimate sources for their side of the story. However, those actions that seem to challenge some key hegemonic principle are not necessarily treated with the same courtesy.

Critical media analysis has often focussed on such limit cases, because they offer a chance to make the invisible "frame" visible, thus demonstrating the
The Globe and Mail and the Hunger Strike

The ideological bias in news (Tuchman 1978; Gitlin 1980; Knight 1982), strikes, demonstrations and protest marches, in particular, often bring out defensive and hostile reactions in the media. They seem to undermine the belief that social problems can be resolved within the existing institutional structures. (And they also go against the notion that violence, even symbolic violence, is only defensible when employed by the state.) Activists who challenge this conventional wisdom often get savaged by the media. If the spotlight is aimed at them, they and their causes are often trivialized or made to appear subversive, sometimes both. An analysis of a media event. We will examine how the Globe and Mail, Canada's national newspaper, framed this event, and what effect the framing had on its news-coverage. But first some background information about Senator Hebert.

Jacques Hebert, who was appointed to the Senate in 1983, is a well-known public figure in his native province of Quebec. At the age of 62 he has spent more than three decades as a writer, publisher and a political crusader for liberal social reforms. He was a founding member of the influential journal Cité Libre, a founder of the reform-oriented newspaper Vrai, he has started two publishing houses and is the author of 15 books. While not a familiar figure in English Canada, he has held many prominent federal appointments. He has spent 10 years as a commissioner of Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission, and last served as a co-chairman of a Royal Commission on Canadian culture. He is the founder of two federal youth programs, Katinavik and Canada World Youth. Most recently he has acted as a chair of the Special Senate Committee on Youth, which issued its report in February 1986. He had just returned from a cross-country tour publicizing the findings, when he learned that the Conservatives had abolished the 10 year old youth program he had founded.

The Commission report had painted a grim picture. The official unemployment rate for young adults between 15-24 was prohibitive 17.9%, but the actual figure was judged to be even higher. Some 700,000 Canadian youths were out of work, the report estimated, and the social costs could be measured, in its view, in an alarming increase in alcohol and drug abuse, prostitution and delinquency. The report which concentrated on 25% of youth it judged to be "directionless", called these people a "lost generation". It found the situation "intolerable" and its recommendations outlined a number of social policies designed to alleviate the plight of these young people. Among these was a proposal to create a community service program modeled after Katinavik. Katinavik had in the last decade provided 22,000 unemployed young people with room and board and $1 a day for doing community work across Canada. After completing a nine-month stint, they received a $1,000 honorarium. According to one federally commissioned study Katinavik "graduates" had an unemployment rate considerably below the national average.

Senator Hebert began his hunger strike after he had sent a letter to the Prime Minister, stating that "having exhausted all the usual democratic methods of impressing on your government the state of the crisis that exists in regard to youth, after lobbying tirelessly, but to no avail, for the reinstatement of Katinavik, I have lost confidence in your government's goodwill and seriousness towards this problem." In subsequent interviews the Senator stressed that he was fasting not only to protest the cancellation of Katinavik, but also in order to sensitize the public to the whole problem of youth.

Senator Hebert's hunger strike was a major developing story in the Globe between March 11 and April 1st. During this period there were 18 news accounts on the subject, 5 editorials, 5 columns, 9 letters to the editor, 11 new photos.

What was unusual at the onset was the amount of commentary generated by this event. The Globe seemed anxious to put a clear and unequivocal meaning to this political protest, to "frame" with an explicitness that comes closer to nineteenth century journalism than one has come to expect from a cooler, more detached twentieth century "quality" newspaper. The Globe wanted to make it abundantly clear that there was only one important issue at stake here, and that this had nothing to do with the plight of unemployed young Canadians or the demise of Katinavik. The hunger strike had to be denounced because as a tactic there was no place for it in a political democracy. It was a form of protest that could be contained only when undertaken under regimes that were not democratic in form. It belonged to the "human rights" protests of the Soviet dissidents and oppressed colonial people, struggling for national independence and political rights. In the achieved utopia of parliamentary democracy - already the best of all political worlds - it could only be a sign of deep irresponsibility, of offensive intent. It seemed to imply that.
there were pervasive social problems that could not be resolved through the normal democratic process, by governments elected periodically by a popular vote, a thought that the Globe found bordered on heresy. The hunger strike, all in all, was seen by the Globe as a very menacing "symbolic" act.

In the eyes of the Globe editorial writers, then, Senator Herbert through his action had shown himself to be in a state of deepest unreason. His action is compared with a child's temper tantrum: "Mr. Herbert threatens to hold his breath until he turns blue." Former Prime Minister Trudeau is admonished for not dissuading him from his course: "We expected more from a man known for his belief in reason over emotion, and whose influence as a friend and statesman might have moderated the Senator's stand." But this breach of political etiquette was also treated, in a more serious vein, as an ideological threat. The senator was accused of indulging in "high profile intimidation." His act was called a "wrong-headed slight to the essence of parliamentary democracy," and "anti-democratic," and he was accused of "assaulting our civilized democracy as surely as if with a gun or bomb.

The columnists and guest commentators had nothing new to add to this, but the Globe must have decided that rhetorical overkill was not out of place in this instance. Ottawa correspondent Jeffrey Simpson devoted three columns to the subject. One was a satire imagining a capitol brought to a standstill by everyone going on a hunger strike. Another column proclaims that "parliamentary democracy remains hostage to a twisted logic of a desk man," and attacks the Liberal Leader Mr. Turner for remaining non-committal: "His refusal to condemn the tactic of a hunger strike is a bizarre abdication of leadership from a self-possessed lover of parliamentary democracy." The third column carries on substantially in the same fashion. The Macleans correspondent George Bain restates: "There is nothing noble in what Senator Herbert is doing. He is the role of the terrorist, a gun to the head of the hostage, saying I will kill this person unless you do what I say." Gerald Caplan, a prominent New Democrat, was invited to give his comments, and he heaped more scorn on the fasting Senator. If the Tory Government capitulates to his demands, "it will be a black day for democracy in Canada," Caplan concludes.

What effect did this interpretation of Senator Herbert's protest have on the news stories themselves? To begin with, it determined what was not newsworthy. The Globe would not give Herbert the satisfaction of publicizing the issues he thought were at stake here. There were no stories dealing with the high unemployment and its social costs. Katimavik itself invited only one confusing account, a survey of four evaluative studies which were made to sound so contradictory in their findings that no possible conclusion would be drawn from them about the worth of the program. There were no interviews with either participants in the program or with staff in social agencies that had benefited from their volunteer labour. Senator Herbert himself, relatively unknown to English Canadians, remained a cipher. There was no background story about his long and illustrious career as a public servant and a writer-activist, nothing that could raise uncomfortable questions about how such a public figure could overnight become a deeply irrational man and a threat to the existing political order.

The news stories that were produced tended to fall into two categories. Some concentrated on the "human interest" aspect. These included descriptions of the spectacle of a fasting Herbert on display to a group of tourists gawking at him, at times surrounded by youthful supporters, "celebrity" visitors such as the former Prime Minister Trudeau.

Into the "human interest" category could also be fitted the stories about Herbert's death, both physical and mental. There were detailed descriptions about his physical condition, interviews with the doctor whose care he was in, speculations about his death. He could survive without food. Herbert in these accounts had ceased to be a political actor and had become a "problem," a strange aberration, creating unforeseen legal and moral dilemmas. As the fast moved into the second week the question was also raised about how long he could be considered to be sound of mind. In a March 20 news item the Senate Speaker is quoted as saying that he is seeking his experts to provide legal and medical advice. He expressed concern about what would happen when Herbert became so weak that one could assume that his thinking became "a bit fuzzy." Could he at that point be taken to hospital even against his own will?

The second category of news stories was more political. These accounts stressed the isolation of Senator Herbert. It was made abundantly clear that his lack of faith in the democratic process was not shared by any reputable figure or group. The governing Tories had refused to bow down to his "intimidation." Neither the Liberal
party nor the New Democrats were endorsing this form of protest. There was no trench-English spin on this issue: the most eminent French Canadian news commentators were said to be deploiring, and seniors of note were also making public that two major national lobby groups for youth had urged him to end his fast. While acknowledging that Hebert had received some encouragement from individual Liberal MPs, the accounts stressed that even such personal friends of Hebert as Pierre Trudel and former cabinet minister Jean Chretien, who were standing by him, supported his individual “natural rights” to set according to his conscience rather than the form his dissent was taking. Chretien — a moving force behind the voluntary organization established to raise funds to keep Katimavik aflame — is quoted as saying: “The question for me was if one man is willing to die for what he believes in, am I willing to stump up and lend support to save his life and turn it into something positive.” In the same issue (April 1) another quote is offered from the Liberal Leader to drive home, once more, just how uncomfortable the party was about his protest. “It is not the typically Canadian act,” says Turner “Very curious, somewhat alarming. It was also a political history. I don’t know if I have a right to make a judgement of it.”

Thus the news stories directly or indirectly supported the editorial judgement that Senator Hebert was not involved in a legitimate form of political protest, but was acting from some perhaps unfathomable irrational impulse. The accompanying news photos tended to give visual enforcement to this “frame”. There were altogether 12 photos of Hebert connected with the hunger strike coverage, and in none of them does he look like a dignified public figure whose political protest one could take very seriously. There is no rational elder statesman here, but rather a frail, emotional, vulnerable individual, visibly getting weaker as the fast continues, raising indeed the question in the mind of the reader as to how long he can be judged responsible for his actions. In many pictures he looks despondent, despairing, almost apathetic, others catch a lighter moment and show him playing with his grandson or joking — in his stocking feet — with young supporters. In one picture he looks like he is praying. In three photos he is shown in affectionate interaction with a young child: one does get the impression that he is a compassionate man, who cares about young people. On the other hand, the pictures also convey the visual message that outside his personal influential friends such as Trudel and Chretien, who each pose with him, Hebert’s supporters are young and without any political clout. There are no images here that inspire confidence in Senator Hebert. And none that indicate any groundswell of support. What is missing, for instance, is any photo documentation of the fact that Hebert during this period addressed large crowds of supporters on Parliament Hill.

Is the judgement the Globe coverage presents on Senator Hebert, then, completely meritorious? What about such journalistic virtues as “objectivity”, “balance”, “fairness”? Hebert did have some support in the Globe — in the Letters to the Editor column. Of eight published letters six were sympathetic to the Senator. Several even took exception to the Globe view of democracy. On March 22 one contributor asks: “Isn’t it clear by now that the McLennan government is sensitive to political pressure, whether from senior citizens or from U.S. based interests? If Senator Hebert, by taking a personal action on behalf of unemployed youth, can threaten conservative seats in Quebec, it seems to have everything to do with parliamentary democracy.” Another correspondent writes on March 27: “Mr. Hebert has every right to take his plea to the people. We are, after all, the ultimate custodians of those rules and laws that make our political system work,” concluding that “By the way, that democracy argument is the same one used behind the Iron Curtain to control dissidents we applaud here in the West.”

However, it is one of the two critical letters that is singled out for visual emphasis. A March 19 contribution is housed in, given a large headline, “Misguided Ploy”, and augmented with a photo of a dishevelled looking Hebert lying in his sleeping bag on the Senate floor.

There was also another cautious gesture towards “objectivity”. On April 1, after Hebert had renounced his hunger strike, Robbi Gunther Plaut, a frequent guest commentator, was invited to close off the discussion on the meaning of Hebert’s protest. He reserved judgement about the senator, writing, “Mr. Hebert may be a fool, as some say. And then maybe not. Morality, if it comes to play, often wears a foolish coat.” However, Plaut does acknowledge that a contradiction can develop between values based on parliamentary democracy and the right of an individual to act according to his conscience. In certain limited circumstances the hunger strike can be used, even in a political democracy, as a legitimate moral and political weapon, Plaut argues. And he maintains that there are no hard and fast rules about this. No matter what poor judgement Hebert might have shown in fasting for Katimavik and the unemployed youth in Canada, he had not, in Plaut’s view, committed the ultimate ideological heresy of stepping outside the conventional values that Gilpin referred to as the “hermeneutic frame”. After weeks of overkill, the case is closed with this faint exoneration.

A subsequent Globe news story is worth mentioning as a postscript. On April 14, two weeks after Senator Hebert had disappeared from the media spotlight, the Globe ran a story about amendment changes in a federal drug law that would give brand-name manufacturers a 10 year monopoly, with no strings attached, eliminating in many cases, the choice between brand-name and considerably cheaper generic drugs for the public. According to the research, quoted by the Globe columnist Hugh Windsor in the same issue, this legislation would raise drug prices by as much as 100 percent. Unlike Senator Hebert’s hunger strike, the fact that the federal cabinet was expected to cave in to the demands of the multinational drug companies, to the detriment of what the Globe considered “the public good,” was not portrayed by the Globe — which was critical of this measure — as an act that seriously undermined the functioning of parliamentary democracy. It was back to business as usual.

References:
Sata Repo is a Toronto writer and journalist currently teaching Communications Studies at Atkinson College, York University.
He first time I arrived in Barcelona was almost a decade ago on May Day 1978. On that day, the first legal international workers' holiday since the defeat of the Republic nearly forty years earlier brought almost a million people into the streets. Political posters covered almost every visible surface, sometimes brazenly occupying billboards; in the spaces between the various calls to mobilization you could glimpse remnants of automobile or toothpaste ads. Barcelona's broad boulevards were invisible beneath the miles of demonstrators; trade unions, political parties, women's rights groups, neighborhood associations, and even a new gay group carried banners bearing the narrow red and gold Catalan stripes. Slogans were in Catalan. Catalonia's national language had been banned by Franco at the end of the Civil War and even in the years preceding his death in 1975 it was tolerated in only the most limited of circumstances. Demands for national self-determination and social progress were thus poignantly intertwined that day in a manner that underscored all that had been suppressed by the fascists. But for me, they could not help but resonate with another situation that was far more familiar: the national movement in Québec. Of course, this May Day demonstration was larger than anything I had ever seen in Montreal where demonstrations were already gargantuan compared to the rest of Canada. But looking at its composition and enthusiasm, listening to the participants articulate concerns around self-determination, language rights, and almost palpably feeling their sense of national community, it would have been difficult not to have been reminded of the outstanding issues of the day back home. It would be outrageous to compare the historical relations between Canada and Québec to the impact on Spain and Catalonia of the Franco regime, not to mention the horrific war that led to his victory. But there can be no denying that the respective constellations initiated by Franco's death on the one hand and the electoral victory of the Parti Québécois on the other forced the central states in question to confront anew and with unmistakable urgency the character of the relationships they wished to maintain with their most formidable national minorities. (In Spain, it should be immediately stated, Catalonia shares this status with Basque, the Basque country). Each conjunction was born with immense possibilities.

In the intervening years, I have returned to Catalonia only to be struck again by the same feelings of kinship between the situation there and in Québec. But now, the comparisons suggested by visits in the late 70s and early 80s have been reinforced by recent scholarly interest in the dynamics that characterize national communities within developed states. The very possibility for such interest has depended on the emergence of unstable situations in several western countries previously regarded as fully formed "nation-states." While Québec now appears to be a prime example of this phenomenon, modern nationalism emerged there in the 1960s before many comparable situations were possible. At that time, the discourse appropriated by many Québécois intellectuals to explain the character of national oppression and formulate their own role in ending it was drawn largely from the decolonization struggles in Africa and the anti-imperialist campaigns of Cuba and Vietnam. But with the gradual abandonment of this paradigm generated in the Third World, comparative models that see Québec sharing a problematic with other minority nations of the developed world are receiving more attention. What is so intriguing about looking comparatively at Québec and Catalonia — and so suggestive for understanding the motor forces of national consciousness — is that today's national concerns are similar despite radically divergent economic and political histories.
Modern Nationalism in Quebec and Catalonia

Robert Schwartzwald

By the time Samuel de Champlain established his Habitation at Quebec in 1608, Catalonia had already known several centuries of highly sophisticated constitutional government, one which many historians consider to have been the most advanced in medieval Europe. The strong bonds that joined the Kingdom of Catalonia's four provinces did not disappear when it entered a confederation with the Kingdoms of Aragon and Castile in 1478-79 produce such a result. On the contrary, feelings of distinctiveness tended to strengthen as Catalans found themselves forced to bail out what they perceived as an impossibly mismanaged central state in the period following the colonial conquests in the Americas. An indigenous capitalist class had long made Catalonia among the wealthiest regions of the Iberian peninsula, most often the wealthiest, and in periods of deep crisis the region emerged as the "saviour of Spain." The high level of industrialization, especially in textiles, and the thriving principal port, Barcelona, consistently attracted immigrant work forces from the rest of Spain as well as from underdeveloped southern France. The various urban, rural, commercial, and industrial interests found expression in a representative assembly, the Generalitat. This continuing measure of self-government was the price Catalonia had successfully exacted from the Spanish crown in recognition of its economic importance. It was suppressed, however, after the Catalans were abandoned by their British commercial allies in the Spanish War of Succession. When Britain signed the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713-14, it also spelled the end to formal constitutional identity for Catalonia. This would not be recovered until the 1930s, when the Spanish Republic accepted an autonomy statute presented to it by a revived Generalitat and massively approved by the Catalan people. General Franco, of course, suppressed the statute along with all Catalan institutions following his final victory in the Civil War. Since his death in 1975, however, the Generalitat has been legalized, an Autonomy Statute negotiated, and the Catalan language been granted "officiality" in Catalonia along with Castilian. But while this sounds like a happy ending, the current status of these gains is highly problematic. To see how it is that long-cherished aspirations may turn sour just as they seem to be within reach, a telling example may be invoked from the unlikely sphere of urban planning.

One way the new sense of possibility after Franco's death manifested itself in Catalonia was through an energetic program for renewing many of the urban spaces of this highly industrialized region. The level of municipal services has traditionally been higher in Catalonia than in most other parts of Spain due to indigenous wealth and a sense of communal solidarity. Yet, industry has been allowed to develop under the Franco regime in a way that flaunted these standards. Horrible air and water pollution and a lack of urban green space were some of the more obvious results. But since the restoration of democracy, the Catalan Architects Association, whose building sports a Picasso mural, has led a discussion about urban space through publications, colloquia, and exhibitions. This has already led to some great urban projects, including the extension of Barcelona's famed Ramblas into an esplanade that will rehabilitate the city's old port. Many of the houses and buildings in the turn-of-the-century modernismo style identified by most non-Catalans with the architect Antonio Gaudi have undergone cleaning and restoration, while other new urban projects celebrate Catalan artists that have won international recognition. There is a breathtaking new monument to Picasso designed by the modernist artist Antoni Tapies. A giant glass cube, continuously obscured by flowing water, sits provocatively on a broad boulevard adjacent to the beaux-arts pavilion of the 1888 Universal
Exposition. Inside the cube, various mementos of the prosperous but smug era when the youthful Picasso lived in Barcelona are thrown together; turn-of-the-century furniture, a piano and other sundry objects are shrouded by banners bearing iconoclast slogans taken from the artist’s cubist and surrealistic writings. The monument brilliantly exemplifies Picasso’s own challenge to the incipient provincialism of the city. At the same time, it is clearly an expression of Catalan pride.

The project deftly proclaims its participation in current aesthetic debates without sacrificing its specific cultural referentiality. Not only must the universal be brought to bear critically on the particular, it seems to say, but this is possible in Barcelona because the city and its culture have always been intimately involved with these universal issues. Across town near a bull-ring, an equally exhilarating if somewhat provocative monument may be found: a sprawling new park of palm trees, concrete, and covered walkways surrounds a ceramic phallic tower by Joan Miró that is topped off with a characteristic crescent moon.

For years, Barcelona’s seedy port life, with its transvestites, prostitutes, and sailors on the make, had most graphically set itself against the cautious ambiance of Madrid. Located deep in the interior of the liberal peninsula and under the vigilant eye of the reactionary central government, Madrid was “protected” from such unsavory influences. But with the changes that have taken place in Spanish political life, Barcelona and Catalonia as whole have lost the self-assurance of being the one part of Spain in touch with outside developments. In truth, Madrid has strolled not a little of Barcelona’s thunder. It has come into its own as a cultural and intellectual metropolis; and from outside it has been lionized as the capital city of a country that has successfully made the peaceful transition to democracy. Would it be at this time that Madrid had come so far that its left-wing mayor had even declared “una semana del erotismo”? All the differences between the seedy old times and the technocratic new ones could be grasped as once in this proclamation.

The fact is that the democratic governments in place since the death of Franco continue the centralist practices that privilege the “national” capital, but now in the name of modernity instead of tradition. The Cortes -- the Spanish parliament -- still has final control over the funds available to the Generality, a poignant reminder that the two capitals are hardly on equal footing. And, recently, the central government has shown its determination to assume a leading role among the Spanish, i.e. Castilian-speaking nations of the world. The combined impact of these policies is to encourage the feeling that Barcelona is somehow less international, more provincial than in the past, and that Catalonia as a whole is a recalcitrant society grasping at narrow ethnic interests. To those familiar with the thrust of “official” pan-Canadian nationalism as elaborated in the Trudeau years, this syndrome will not seem strange. The liberal government effectively prevented a meeting of the world’s francophone nations for years because it was determined that Quebec should have no independent international presence at such a meeting. At the same time, it adopted a relentlessly demeaning attitude toward all expressions of Quebecois national aspirations. This attitude reflected a state-centric position that viewed Quebec nationalism as a fundamental disruption to its own project. In this way, it had a logic of its own and was not merely reactive. Whether or not minority nations actively pursue their national goals, they are never “let alone;” the status of their relation to the central state is always vectorial, never stable. In this context, the question of winning or losing the initiative becomes all the more crucial.

What seemed to be happening in Catalonia in 1984 reminded me of the frustration many felt in Quebec, particularly in Montreal, where the Parti Quebecois government was accused of over-organizing the cultural sphere. Like in Quebec, the Catalan government’s increasing preoccupation with the symbolic seemed to be a defensive response to setbacks in the field of constitutional change. For although national independence was never an issue in Catalonia, the original formulation of the autonomy demand was much stronger than what was eventually secured. Like in Quebec, popular mobilizations were taken in hand by government agencies and transformed into an abundance of neighborhood, municipal, and regional “popular festivals.” Expressions of “authenticity” that often spilled over into the sentimental and folkloric were common. New public art erected in village squares paid homage to various aspects of popular and traditional culture -- Catalan national dances, for example.

Placing these populist gestures were official government reports on the future of Catalan cultural and educational institutions such as museums, theaters, and universities. And in an uncanny way, even the economic importance of the Catalan caixas, or credit unions, and their immense intervention into cultural life brought to mind that of their Quebecois counterparts, the caisses populaires. Both institutions pride themselves on their expressed concern for the welfare of the popular layers of society and are armed in turn with trust and familiarity.

Under other circumstances, especially if the autonomy process had proceeded well, this mixture of populist and high cultural concerns might have been lived small-comically and regarded as “normal.” Unfortunately, ten years of unsatisfactory negotiations and compromises with Madrid had produced considerable demoralization. Although Catalans have historically seen themselves as embracing the new, one could sense for the first time a nagging doubt about the possibility of articulating modernity and nationhood now that the official nationalism of the central state claimed to be the legitimate barrier of that mantle.
Catalonia's historical disputes with Madrid over an acceptable level of autonomy produced a situation diametrically opposed to that in Canada, where Quebecois have always compensated for economic marginalization through an exaggerated presence in functionary positions. A hateful example of this provocation was Pierre Trudeau's own call for so-called "French Power" in Ottawa, a programme which independentist intellectuals viewed as a cynical and diversionary attempt to extend this tendency to the federal level. In Spain, the geographic concentration of the Catalan bourgeoisie and its historical failure to make alliances with other Iberian capitalists left it relatively isolated against the hostility of the centralist government in Madrid. And so, by early in this century, according to political economist Luis Domenech i Montaner, "the region with the most distinct characteristics from the other Iberias, the one where language is spoken in a quarter or fifth of Spain, which to the same proportion contributes to the costs of the state; the most advanced, richest, and best related to other civilized countries is scarcely represented in the government of the state." Even toward the end of the Franco regime, none of Spain's senior judges came from Barcelona and only 4% of the divisional chiefs within Spanish ministerial departments came from the city, as opposed to 21% from Madrid.

Indeed, the Catalan situation demonstrates that national aspirations cannot be explained away as a compensatory response to economic underdevelopment. In fact, modern nationalism in Catalonia emerged despite the confluence of the Catalan bourgeoisie and in response to its continuing failure to secure the kinds of political arrangements with Madrid that would adequately meet demands for self-determination. Instead, it has been the intelligentsia, especially the literary and artistic community, that has forged alliances with popular layers to prove the majority of Catalan national aspirations. Its commitment to this cause has historically differed from the tactical nationalism of the Catalan haute-bourgeoisie who have more than once relied upon the repressive apparatus of the state to quell labour unrest within their factories. Well into this century, the central state has excluded the intelligentsia from its institutions and regarded their linguistic and cultural heritage with enmity. This accounts for the particularly sanctimonious attention of the intellectuals to Catalan national demands. There is good reason for this, as Regis Debray points out in his book dedicated to the "scribe," particularly those involved in writing, teaching or publishing in the national language:

The labour of universalization which is that of the intellect is always tied to a concrete situation in which the stakes are the very possibilities to express and communicate. To universalize the intellectual, it is necessary to universalize the history of which he is a product. There is no intellectual in and of himself, just as there is neither a State in general or a universal subject.

Following the abrogation of the liberal Carlist constitution of 1812, the nationalism of Catalan intellectuals channeled itself in the romantic doctrines of the enduring relationships of land, people, and language. Students of traditional Quebec nationalism will note that "faith" is not among these relationships. In nineteenth century Catalonia, the Church was not a key guardian of national institutions as in Quebec, although elements of it were later to distinguish themselves by resisting the Franco regime and supporting secular demands for autonomy. In fact, the outlawed Generalitat met under the shelter of the Benedictines of Montserrat, the famous abbey and pilgrimage centre overlooking Barcelona.

In Quebec, hostile observers have always pointed to the preponderant role played by clerics in articulating nationalist sentiment. It is not uncommon for these same critics to contend that only the outward garb has changed between the messianism of yesterday's nationalists and the secular discourse heard in the modern independence movement. After the defeat of the May 1980 referendum, Pierre Trudeau gleefully boasted that these unrepentant demagogues had ultimately failed in their attempt to manipulate the population. It was as if the intervening twenty years of profound social and cultural changes, characterized in Quebec by often intense alliances between teachers, writers, and the general public, had never taken place. In a multi-signature letter to the Montreal daily Le Devoir in December 1980, Quebec's nationalist artists and intellectuals took issue with Trudeau's argument and gave Debray's general observation a more immediately compelling interpretation. They argued that "whether one calls Quebec a national, a people, or a society, [Quebec francais] remains the site from which Quebec's intellectuals and artists begin to create. Quebec francais is both the subject and interlocutor of their creation. The erosion of this territory directly compromises their existence and creativity."

Today, the first genuinely broad demonstration of political passion in Quebec since the defeat of the referendum concerns protecting the integrity of the Charter of the French Language. "Le dechets gous la Loi 101" proclaims the banners hanging from many of Montreal's ubiquitous balconies. Once again the question of language rights has come to the forefront in under scoring the continuing presence of the "national question." Likewise in Catalonia, where the Socialists swept to victory in the first Catalan elections based on a programme that convincingly combined socialist and nationalist demands, linguistic issues figured prominently among the latter. As Catalan sociologist Francesc Vallenérd explains in The Linguistic Conflict in Catalonia, "Language is the most visible sign of a national community: in addition to carrying through its socially integrating function as a medium of communication, it is the expression of a culture, not understood as a static and homogeneous product, but as a heterogeneous, multifaceted, and dynamic project. While taking tradition as its point of departure, it embraces the cultural concerns and aspirations of men and women of today."
These same words could have, and in effect have been written many times over by proponents of linguistic reform in Quebec for the past twenty-five years. Indeed, language and linguistic policy are today areas of common concern in Quebec and in Catalonia — a society where the economic goals of today’s Quebecois nationalists were long ago articulated. The process of linguistic normalization in Catalonia was initiated by the restored Generalitat and the election of the first post-Franco assembly of Catalonia in 1977. The exceptionally long duration of the dictatorship did much to accentuate the prospect of linguistic erosion and substitution there. In the years following the Civil War, the once flourishing Catalan publishing industry was all but shut down, children were taught exclusively in Castilian, and the mass media developed solely in the language of the central state. The enormous waves of immigration to Catalonia from non-Catalan regions also contributed to the proportion reduction of the number of Catalan speakers. According to a study conducted just before the demise of the dictatorship in 1975, approximately 84% of the residents claimed to be true Catalan, only 68% said they could speak it, and a mere 11% claimed they could write it. Obviously, the situation in Catalonia was far more serious than any comparable ones for Quebec in the same period. Yet the measures taken to protect the status of the language are familiar: establishing its daily primacy in the public sphere, teaching the language in both relations with the state and immigrants, reversing the trend toward seeing it as a socially inferior "dialect" through the creation of networks over public institutions and the mass media, and resolving territorial problems that enable the respective languages to meet current needs.

One of the first acts of the Generalitat was to establish the Dirección General de Política Lingüística under the supervision of the Department of Culture. The parallel between the work carried out by the various agencies of the DGPL and those of the Office de la langue franque in Quebec are striking. In fact, the DGPL’s White Paper makes prominent mention of the contacts between its representatives and those of the OLFL. In September 1982, meetings were held which were described as having been "extremely valuable for the orientation of the activities of the Service." The General Director, says the report, "maintains intense contact with the directors of all organizations in Quebec which undertake tasks related to linguistic policy and scientific work on language: members of the autonomous [i.e. government, deputies, directors of the Office de la langue française, of the Comité de la langue française, the Commission des observateurs, which oversees the current application of Bill 101... the Polytechnic commission, the Commission de l’anglisation at Université Laval, and the Centre for Linguistic Studies at Radio-Canada.”

In Canada, the excellent terminological work done by the OLFL is generally unrecognized, and so notorious was its necessity that in the Commission de surveillance du PQ government that most Canadians likely think that the OLFL itself was created by the independence movement to police Bill 101. In reality, the OLFL is a product of Jean Lesage’s Liberal government of the early 1960s. By taking a longer view, it is clear that the real emphasis has been placed on improving the quality of the language used in public, from government through to advertisers. The difference, of course, is that in the early days the strategy of the OLFL was to morally exhort the Quebecois to speak “better” French. These highly normative changes have never really been abandoned, but under the PQ, the OLFL became the state’s major interventional arm in creating conditions that legally enforce and socially valorize the use of French. In the process, the French language has been made to appear more “necessary” to immigrants groups, although many still need to be convinced.

In the case of Catalonia, the two major occupations confronting the DGPL are “co-officiality” and integrating immigrants. These problems are roughly equivalents to those of bilingualism and immigrant integration faced in Quebec, although the responses generated differ somewhat. Both the official and "unofficial" language campaigns in Catalonia look familiar enough to anyone who has lived through the last decade in Quebec. Against the spontaneous background of street signs with the Castilian ("Spañol") painted out, there is the ubiquitousness of government advertising promoting the Catalan language. A little girl, Núria (as in "norm"), appears everywhere instructing citizens on the correct use of the language. Today, just about half the Catalan work force is composed of immigrants. Surveys show, however, that these workers are traditionally held in positive attitudes toward learning Catalan and accepting it as the official proficiency. Both economic and social factors have induced them to develop these attitudes. Catalan authorities are not too concerned of the need to nurture this good faith, especially during the recent years of economic crisis. In this regard, Vallverdú’s assessment of the situation is probably quite representative of the “realist” position: While it is not possible to complete the process of Catalanisation with expedient measures, it is neither possible to simply allow things to take their “natural” course...It is not a matter of hoping for “bilingualisation” of Catalonia where the two languages would be interchangeable, but rather for the Catalanisation of our society. Overcoming the only road that is viable today: the mutual respect of inhabitants...A more radical linguistic policy — which would be possible but which would perhaps lead more quickly to the normalization of Catalan, but its social cost would be incalculable and put into danger the reconstruction of Catalonia in the process.”

In the light of these general guidelines, the Catalan authorities concluded that a universal policy regarding Catalanization throughout both Catalanist and pro-unificationist areas would have been both unrealistic and unproductive. Integration of immigrants takes place fairly easily in regions such as Barcelona and other towns present a far greater challenge. Thus different policies, objectives, campaigns, and time frames were set for different parts of Catalonia.

As for the Spanish government’s interpretation of linguistic “co-officiality,” the stress is predictably not on the development or the presence of Catalan, but rather the rights of non-Catalan speakers to continue using their language in all public situations. The policy of the central government is seen by many as doing little more than upholding the linguistic status quo rather than cooperating in the process of reestablishing Catalan. The criticisms levied against “co-officiality” recall those made in Quebec about official Canadian bilingualism. The reversals that have occurred since the implementation of Bill 101 — largely through the provisions of the new Canadian Constitution and its reinforcement by the Supreme Court — show to what extent the language issue is a significant one for the former central state’s willingness to redefine its relationship to minority national communities. Here, the attitudes of the former Liberal federal government — which bequeathed the Constitution and the social-democratic regime in post-Franco Spain are indeed similar.

In fact, Madrid consistently tends to give legislative power or the presence of from Catalonia the most restrictive interpretations possible under the Autonomy Statutes. Catalonia first expressed its dissatisfaction with this state of affairs by blaming their own Socialist parliamentarians who had urged “trust” when dealing with Madrid. While the State was ratified by Catalan voters, the significant rate of abstention confirmed that these politicians were seen as compromised; the latter in the process of whittling away Catalonia’s bargaining position. In the 1980 elections to the Constituent Assembly, there was a significant drop in the number of Socialist deputies sent to the Cortes in the Spanish elections of 1982, negotiations with the newly elected Socialist government of Prime Minister Felipe González became acrimonious on practically every point. Since then the Socialists in Madrid have been charged with basing the very notion of autonomy and accepting the policies of the regional governments who assured the country’s administration in the years following Franco’s death. From their 1982 electoral victory in 1982, they had formed the governments of Spain through their political party, the Socialists, that would be in power. In particular, their policy designated fourteen autonomous “communities,”
including Madrid itself. In this way, it evacuated the specificity of the demand for autonomy as it flowed historically from distinct national communities such as the Catalans and the Basques. After the failed coup attempt in 1981, the central government bowed to the right wing by stating that the autonomy process had moved too quickly. In consultation with the Socialists, the central government then proposed a "Law for the Organic Harmonization of Autonomous" (LOAPA), which would prohibit one autonomous community from obtaining a right to privacy which is not shared by the others. This formal equality can have disastrous consequences for minority regions. As Louis Solo-Molins has explained in Le Monde Diplomatique, "It is not obvious that the Madrilean autonomous community will want to legislate on the teaching and use of Catalan in its territory with a law comparable to that which the Catalans and the Basques would want in order to safeguard the use of their languages in their territories... In the name of the LOAPA, the central government would intervene to force Bilbao and Barcelona to adapt to Madrid." While recent decisions of the Constitutional Tribunal have curbed some of Madrid's worst excesses, they have also made it clear that attempts to assert the primacy of "regional" languages will not be tolerated.

It is true that the Canadian Constitution accords the provinces rights that far exceed those that presently exist for autonomous regions of Spain. Nevertheless, the extent to which other provinces and the central government itself will be allowed any practical consequences to flow from this that Québec constitutes a "distinct society" within Confederation – the current wording of Québec's negotiating position for "signing on" to the new Constitution – is a wide open question. Many provincial leaders have already declared, à l'état-naturel, that they consider their own territories to be "distinct societies" too, so they don't see a problem in conceding the wording to Québec. But it is difficult to see how concrete respect for Québec's national rights fits into a scenario of "commonality of differences." Will the other provinces, for example, be willing to amend a Constitution that defines the language rights of non-francophones in a way that once again could make bilingualism among francophones the de facto norm for public jobs in Québec?

In both Québec and Catalonia, the current situation suggests that little respite is in store for those who feel that there are specific national communities worth defending. Those Québecois who expected that economic progress would obviate the basis for national demands should look at the history of Catalonia, whose development demonstrates that such a pattern can never be taken for granted. In fact, despite unequal and even diverse patterns of development, the specific national concerns experienced in Québec and Catalonia today are fundamentally similar. To the extent that those concerns are born out of resistance to operations of delimitation and marginalization on the part of larger central states, their respective responses will have much to learn from each other. At first Catalans may be tempted to look toward Canada for glimpses of a more generous federal system and Québecois toward Spain for a peek at the successes of a minority national bourgeoisie. But in the long run I would suspect they would do better looking at each other, learning from their respective interrelations with their central states. Thus they may plan the political and cultural forms of intervention that will make their collective futures viable.

Reading List
I am indebted to Oriol Pi-Sunyer and Susan M. DiGiacomo of the University of Massachusetts-Amherst, whose recent articles have proven invaluable in understanding contemporary developments in Catalonia. I would be happy to provide a bibliography on request. The following monographs are recommended as further reading:


Some important dates in modern Catalan History:

1931 - Draft proposal of Statute of Autonomy approved by referendum in Catalonia.

1932 - Statute of Autonomy proclaimed in Madrid by the Cortes of the Second Spanish Republic. Reestablishment of Generalitat for first time since 1714.


1939 - Fall of the Republic.

1975 - Death of Franco. Juan Carlos becomes King of Spain.

1977 - Spanish parliamentary elections. Socialists win a clear majority in Catalonia. Among their demands, "català, idioma oficial." (Catalan, the official language.) In Spain as a whole, the Union of the Democratic Centre (UCD) wins the most seats.

1978 - Adoption of new Spanish constitution.

1979 - Referendum on Statute of Autonomy. 88.1% of voting Catalans approve it, but abstention rate is 40.4%.

1980 - Elections to Catalan parliament. Socialists lose to nationalist parties. 37.9% of voters abstain.

1981 - Attempted military coup. Members of Cortes held hostage.

1981-1982 - UCD government begins private consultations with Spanish Socialists over "LOAPA," an organic law to "harmonize" the autonomy process.


As of today the Socialists continue to govern in Madrid.

Robert Schwartzwald is an Assistant Professor in the Department of French and Italian at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst. He is also Director of the Canadian Studies Program of the Five College Consortium of Amherst. In Hampshire, Mount Holyoke, and Smith Colleges and the University of Massachusetts. When he is not in New England, he lives in Montreal where he continues his research on the relations between questions of literary (post)modernity and national identity in contemporary Québécois literature. He is a corresponding member of the Centre de Recherche en Littérature québécoise at Université Laval and the Vice-President of the American Council for Québec Studies.
ONE SISTER WAS NORMAL, THE OTHER WAS NOT—

Strange Sisters
ROBERT TURNER

They were both indescribably lovely—yet one wanted a man's love... while the other craved a woman.

THE SAVAGE NOVEL OF A LESBIAN ON THE LOOSE!
Desire and Torment

sweet through Joyce's trembling young body at the gentle touch of Edith's cunt and her face.

Before I was taught by the term "bitch" Joyce was one. Bitch was a fashionable school word. Matter. I went to school. I was taught to be shocked and hungry. I was taught to torment those who were different. Only at the same time as Valia. She became such a thing. She was the image of the

From the series:
Complexity of Silence, 1987
by Nina Leibovitz
(Orientation: 40 x 30, colour prints with hologram)

From the exhibition:
Sight Specific
Lesbians and Representation
CR
Sight Specific
Lesbians and Representation
co-ordinated by Lynne Fina
A Space, Toronto, March 1987

Photo: Peter MacCullum
How Walt Disney infected the design of Expo 86 and why we should all be frightened as Hell about it... 

Brian Fawcett

FIRST OFF, A MILDLY UNORTHODOX HISTORY OF THE EXPO DESIGN PROCESS:

GOD BURY REALLY KNOWS exactly where and when the idea of having a world's exposition in Vancouver was born, or from whose mind it was, or, hatched. The original rationale for holding it is equally murky. Probably some mid-level bureaucrat was demonstrating how innovatively he or she could think, and a chain-reaction set in.

What made B.C.'s Social Credit government agree to fund an exhibition is considerably clearer. They saw it as a means of securing a powerful megaproject presence within Vancouver's downtown core. City of Vancouver governments, since the early 1970's, had been moving slowly and steadily to the left, and were taking political positions that were increasing in fundamental opposition to Sacred megadeveloper policies. The Social Credit purchased a large block of land on the north shore of False Creek from Marathon Realty (then Canadian Pacific's development arm), and formed two crown corporations: B.C. Place Corporation to assemble land for the exposition, and the Expo Corporation itself to build and run the exposition.

The Expo board of directors—headed by multi-millionaire entrepreneur and born-again Christian Jim Pattison—went out and hired a chief architect: Bruno Freschi, as its chief architect. He was given the minimal conceptual parameters the management team had in their possession, no real budget limitations, and some slightly more concrete physical parameters to work with. "Design" he was told.

For about a year, Freschi and a group of designers he hired to help him did just that. Freschi's designs were somewhat fantastic for the sober-minded Expo Board. More damaging, they were outrageously expensive. Freschi was soon pushed to the design sidelines, although he remained, officially, the Chief Architect of Expo 86 through to the end. His substantive contribution to the site is the Expo Centre, at the east end of the site, and even that building is greatly reduced from its original conception.

Freschi also laid out the rough conceptual blueprint for the Expo site. After he was knocked out, four basic groups accounted for the design of the fair. These groups are quite distinct in character, mandate and ambition.

1.) The Contract Architects: This group consisted of the twenty-five or thirty architectural firms that designed most of the buildings on the fair site. The majority of these firms were local, although more than a few of them brought in exposition-experienced help for specific tasks. The architects were assigned portions of the site on an unusual ad hoc basis, thus bypassing the more conventional "design panel" selection of proposals one might have expected.

2.) The Expo Design Teams: There were a number of these, constantly reconstituted, and with less of summary executions along the way. After Freschi was removed, a second wave of designers and architects, headed by Richard Blugbombe, tried to find an interface between Freschi's grand ambitions and the limitations laid down by increasingly powerful budget-management teams. In that environment, they carried out the bulk of the site design.

A startling amount of this work was carried out in-house by young and generally poorly-paid graduate architects who were hired for short periods, trained of their creative energies, and then fired. Some big-name architects were brought in, the most prominent of which was New Yorker James Wines to produce Highway 86, the monochromatic set-piece of the Expo site.

Finally, after Blugbome was carried off in one of the Expo board's administrative massacres, another wave of designers, headed by Creative Director Ron Woodall and Vancouver architect John Perkins, did the site embellishment that ultimately was the sole element in the entire fair design that made any attempt to integrate the different components.

Blugbome, Woodall and particularly Perkins did some brilliant and courageous work in an increasingly hostile budgetary environment. They also provided about the only explanations of the design process that have emerged. As a class II—or theme related—exposition, they correctly explained, Expo was not primarily an architectural exposition. On other occasions, they argued somewhat cryptically that Expo was a post- architectural exposition, a designation that may yet turn out to be prophetic.

3.) The Exhibit Designers: The exhibit modules that housed the various pavilions were meant to be rental housing for the fair's "real" content—the exhibits. To cover senior management's growing distillation toward architectural innovation, Expo spokes persons insisted that the fair's true content was going to be in the exhibits.

That was true in one sense, but misleading in several others. Generally speaking, the exhibits were disappointing—in fact most of the exhibits were a crushing bore. Their content is almost all cases was predictably secondary to the media used to present them.

4.) The Fourth Group: This group ultimately exercised the most powerful design influence, even though it is the most difficult to provide with a clear identity. It consisted of Jim Pattison, the Fair's Board Chairman, President and resident pixie; the right wing economic and political interests residing in the Expo Board of Directors; the budget controllers; Jesus Christ; Your Personal Psychological Saviour; and Walt Disney. In a very important sense the various components of this group are more or less interchangeable.
EXPO'S WILD DESIGN ELEMENTS:

Expo's wild design process did contain two peculiar elements that deserve to be noted. They haven't received the attention they deserve, and aren't likely to in the future. A year before the exposition opened, The Expo Board decided that it did not want to fund an internal documentation of its design process. As a consequence, there is no consistent or complete source of documentary data available. A normally publicized procedure would have ensured an overall political coherence of design, and quite possibly a unanimity of materials and content.

The Expo Corporation simply didn't have time for design selection panels and the result was that there was no consistent design strategy. In most cases, blocks of the site were parceled out to various architectural firms, who then worked with the Expo design teams, the corporate clients involved, or with the provincial governments that funded the pavilions. The results were mixed, and the process is more revealing than the product.

The succeeding waves of Expo's in-house design teams produced at least one recurring design element that sets Expo 86 apart from its two immediate predecessors, the 1984 fair at New Orleans, and Japan's Tsukuba fair in 1985.

The New Orleans fair offered up just one inter-coherent aesthetic element, the Wonderwall. The Wonderwall was a seamless Disneyworld web of cartoon images meant to cover up infrastructure and to present food and other consumer opportunities. The Wonderwall got a lot of positive attention, probably because nothing else at New Orleans was even remotely worthy. Most of the attention came from architects, who were intrigued by the technical virtuosity it displayed in covering up the weaknesses of an awkward site. The theme plates at Expo 86 pretty much imitated the design parameters of the Wonderwall, with predictable results. They were spectacular, visually stimulating (from a distance) and essentially without content.

Tsukuba was typified by its exhibit modules. Properly looked at (with one eye on the structure and the other on the images revealed by the structure) the modules were black boxes. In fact, they were conventional Butler buildings with shiny, closed outer surfaces. Inside the modules there were entertaining, but ultimately closed technologies—a perfect image of the way Japanese corporations present themselves and their products to the public.

The architectural imagery presented by Expo 86 was quite different from both of these, and considerably less seamless. Partly, this has to do with the absence of a coherent body to govern the fair's presentational aesthetic. The other reason is more interesting. Anyone looking out across the Expo site could have noted a startling dominance of external structure—pipes, girders, etc. The site embalishment done by John Perkins recognized this, and extended it in a series of thematic tower gates throughout the site. This dominance of external structure lent a curious tentativeness to the site that sharply contradicted the official message. My own speculation is that it was an unconscious registering of the reality most British Columbians face, whether in the overloaded professions or in the dying resource-extraction industries that fuel the B.C. economy. This part of Expo's imagination accurately registered both the uncertainty and the distrust of the smooth entrepreneurial class projected by the rest of the fair.

AND NOW, A MILDLY UNORTHODOX EXAMINATION OF THE FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTUAL DECISIONS MADE AT EXPO, AND THE FIRST ENCOUNTER WITH WALT DISNEY:

A return to Bruno Freschi and the early period of Expo's design leaves us gazing warily at the most spectacular remnant of the fair, the Expo Centre. The Expo Centre is the gonzo Godzilla covered by flashing lights that sits right off the end of Georgia Street. Together with the fountain in Stanley Park's Lost Lagoon to the west, it forms a polynia, or dumbbell, in the downtown core. Never mind that the connecting road on the east side of this piece of urban abstraction, the Georgia Viaduct, curves away to the north, away from the Godzilla, thus making the dumbbell recognizable only at night, from the air.

The Expo Centre is one of Expo's permanent structures, designed to become an urban legacy. Inside it are a number of high-tech theatres, including an Omnimax, and another, smaller, theatre where people can voice their opinions electronically on what they like and don't like about the presentations they watch. A spectacular building, but originally it was meant to be quite a lot more spectacular.

Early in the design process, Bruno Freschi commissioned an outrageously expensive short film aimed at selling his concept of the design and purpose of the Expo Centre. A few months before Expo opened, I saw this film, and heard an enthusiastic but carefully polite Freschi outline what he'd had in mind. He'd designed the Expo Centre to have an external television screen, and to have it connected to something he called a "teleport", which was, when you cut the techno-rhetoric from what he was saying, a huge satellite receiving dish planted in the middle of False Creek. His demonstration film featured a lot of simple-minded but vividly coloured computer-generated graphics, declaring the gonzo dome model to be a symbol of "universality". Then, as a demonstration of what universality is, the film treated us to several minutes of music and graphic progressions that probably resemble what Disneyland would appear like to someone on LSD. After watching the film, I couldn't help feeling that it was lucky Freschi had been stopped when he was. His teleport was not built, and neither was the external screen.

Generally speaking, the exhibits were disappointing—in fact most of the exhibits were a crushing bore. Their content in all cases was almost predictably secondary to the media used to present them.

I've witnessed the effects of teleports. The last time I was in Hazelton, B.C., which is among the most beautiful landscapes in North America, there were 27 satellite dishes atop houses in the Indian reserve. As a result, the place was deserted. The residents were inside their houses, living half-way between Atlanta and Michael Jackson.

As for the external screen on the outside of the Expo Centre, the legacy it would have provided raises a rather macabre image of the citizens of Vancouver wandering down to the Expo Centre on Friday to watch Dallas or Miami Vice on the big screen, perhaps going inside first to register their electronic opinions as to which programme they want to watch. Some legacy.
Frechti's plans were cut back because they were too expensive, not because the Expo Board disagreed with them. The Expo Centre, both as originally conceived and as eventually built, resembles no other building on the planet so much as the gothic-dance at Disney's EPCOT Center. What Frechti meant by universality, unconsciously or not, was Disneyland. And for the most part, Disneyland is what fueled the imagination of Expo 86, from Jim Pattison down to the most obscure budget greenie.

**SO WHAT IS THIS DISNEY BUSINESS, ANYWAY? A CONSPIRACY?**

Start by asking yourself what the content of Expo 86 was supposed to be. The official answer is that Expo 86 was a celebration of Transportation and Communications. Okay. Ask yourself why these need celebration. Then ask yourself just what was the transportatation and communications that the fair actually did celebrate.

The answer you'll get, before too long, is that those questions don't matter. And why are you being so critical, anyway? There is no place for critical consciousness like that in a post-modern "exposition" and no place for it in reality according to Disney.

The Disney imagination has increasingly dominated the post-war expositions. And as its influence has grown, the expository content of the expositions have become either descriptive—as in "Wow, here's a spectacular machine!"—or purely formal: "an exhibition is a celebration of an exposition". Sure, new products and new technologies are tolerated and even encouraged. But only for bark and glister. New or critical concepts are not. The medium is the message, and those who object are regarded as party-poops and possibly as dangerous subversives.

Describing Expo 86 as Disney-dominated isn't simply a metaphor. Almost the entire senior administrative staff was hired from Disneyland or from Disney-inspired projects. Many of them were trained at Disneyland, and came to Expo from there or from the moving apparatus that the success of World Expositions has created. As Expo took shape, these people became increasingly powerful. They took control because they were experienced managers of public imagination, and export financial managers who knew precisely how much buzz could be bought for the available bucks.

**STILL NOT CONVINCED?**

Let's be a little more specific. What was the scheme behind Expo's Disneyland design bias, and who or what was it meant to attack? It was the same as that behind all the other components of franchise capitalism: to erect a post-ideological monument to geopolitical globalization, which is to say, to prop up corporate, state, and habit, and to degenerate any other form of consciousness.

Globalist propaganda is of a very specific kind. It does not acknowledge the existence of the Third World, except where the Third World provides sanitized tourist facilities. It does not acknowledge the collusion between technology and military aggression, or the fact that the international community spent 900 billion dollars last year purchasing military weapons.

**DIDN'T ANYONE OBJECT?**

Expo 86 drew opposition from several groups during the design period. Because it downgraded—relentlessly and almost invariably—the value of local talent and industry, it was fought, for a while, by a not very successful alliance of artists, artisans, and their administrative advocates. In the end, enough of these people were co-opted by short term contracts to effectively silence the critics. The Expo planners, late in the process, even gave the artisans their own crafts pavilion.

Because the Disney imagination refuses conceptual risks of any kind—using both as a source of serious content to aesthetic/self-justification—none of the Disneylanders were fought from within the Expo corporation by a new and innovative people who wanted to present unorthodox but educational technological exhibits, such as the plan to have a car crusher on site that would use the crushed vehicles to build an accumulative sculpture. That idea, and others like it, didn't get to first base.

The car crusher idea is not Disneyland-acceptable because it doesn't present a one-sided and seamless view of technology. It is conceptually messy. The technical difficulties involved in presenting the project would have exposed the public not just to the noise and fanfare of a spectacle, but also to the double-edginess of technological profits. And such programs were therefore buried by the Disneylanders.

The Disneylanders were also bought by those elements within the operations and design teams that believed that there ought to be some serious content to the exhibits. Richard Blaghome, who is an Egyptologist, managed, I suspect by force of character, to have an exhibit of ancient Egyptian artifacts included. Unfortunately, few other exhibits containing historical or critical content were allowed by the Expo corporation. That was officially left to the national and/or corporate exhibitors, with predictable results.

**SO WHY ARE WE SUPPOSED TO BE FRIGHTENED?**

Let's be a little more specific. What was the scheme behind Expo's Disneyland design bias, and who or what was it meant to attack? It was the same as that behind all the other components of franchise capitalism: to erect a post-ideological monument to geopolitical globalization, which is to say, to prop up corporate, state, and habit, and to degenerate any other form of consciousness.

Globalist propaganda is of a very specific kind. It does not acknowledge the existence of the Third World, except where the Third World provides sanitized tourist facilities. It does not acknowledge the collusion between technology and military aggression, or the fact that the international community spent 900 billion dollars last year purchasing military weapons.
And it does not acknowledge the technological and political uncertainty that is perhaps our primary global reality. Expo was designed to dazzle us and, ironically, to curb our enthusiasm about the future with a relentless onslaught of sterilized novelty. And that’s exactly the effect it had on the vast majority of those who came.

The chief impact Expo 86 had was the one the Disneylanders designed it to have. As such, it was an attack on indigenous cultural and economic practices. Not surprisingly, a startling number of local cultural groups and businesses ceased to exist during the fair. Most of those without a globalist link suffered.

On a slightly larger scale, it isn’t an exaggeration to link the current entrepreneurial frenzy in British Columbia to Expo. It is no accident that a series of right wing political victories have followed in its aftermath, nor that the B.C. lumber industry is the site of the most serious attack on the fundamental values of trade unionism in the post-war era. Isn’t that the case for fear?

OKAY, WHAT WERE THE SPECIFIC GOALS? AND WHAT WAS DISNEY’S GRAND MISSION?

Let’s go up the scale from the vernally local to the globally abstract. First, the Sovereign wanted Expo to stimulate the economy on a short-term basis, and to have it serve as a pointing card for incoming capital investment and other entrepreneurial activity. Second, the same government wanted Expo as springboard to get itself re-elected.

The development community—and in particular the architects and design teams who designed the various components at Expo—wanted a means of securing or enhancing their reputations. And since greater Vancouver is currently facing a development hiatus—it is overbuilt in nearly all sectors—they have tried to use Expo as a catapult out and into international markets. For Greater Vancouver’s corporate businesses, the fair was regarded as an opportunity for a new level of networking and for some short-term profit-taking.

And finally, the Disneylanders wanted Expo to bring Vancouver into the “universality” network—into the mainstream of the Global Village, and under the benevolent supervision of the dictatorship of the Entrepreneurs. Under the EPCOT Dome, in other words.

I’m an optimist, so I won’t say that the Disneylanders have succeeded in their mission. In most of the disputed arenas, the results are mixed. The government got itself re-elected, although the B.C. economy is in such a shambles that they may soon wish (along with the electorate) that they hadn’t succeeded. Despite the state of the economy, the political right in B.C. is more certain of itself, and more convinced than ever of the correctness of the entrepreneurial model for everything from economic development to interpersonal relationships. Most of them are probably more secure than they used to be that everything is A-Okay in the world, or that its unpleasant aspects can and should be ignored or avoided.

Certainly Expo has changed the outlook of a lot of people in Greater Vancouver, particularly the young. Many of them will probably go to Disneyland itself in the next few years to see the real thing. I’ve noticed that kids and adults alike have taken to bitterly complaining about any social event that doesn’t include a fireworks display.

But what about the future? Is there a future after Expo?

Expo 86 did not take a serious measure of the future. It had no opinion about it whatever. It was an attempt to secure the present, and to reassure everyone that everything is just fine right now, despite conflicting evidence. It was not an artistic event, and it did not present a coherent set of ideas, artistic details, or architectural features—not, at least, that can be used as a basis for public discourse.

Expo 86 is currently being dismantled. Except for the Expo Centre, the complex around the B.C. Pavilion, and the rebuilt C.N. roundhouse, everything on the site is scheduled for demolition before July 1987. The facilities that remain will probably become tourist facilities. Certainly they aren’t needed by the local community, and they aren’t flexible enough in their design to be recycled.

The northeast portion of the site is slated for redevelopment by the site’s crackbrained landlord, the crown corporation of B.C. Place, into a combination of retail, office and residential uses over the next few years. But since the development and land costs will be very high, there is unlikely to be much market for any of the proposed components. On the rest of the site, the demolition is unlikely to be completed on deadline, and cost recoveries are far below predicted levels. The exhibit modules, which were supposed to be recycled for community use across the province, turn out to be prohibitively expensive to move, and are simply being torn down, along with the monorail and other site facilities.

Six months after the fair ended, Expo isn’t very pretty or useful. The western end of the site has no development planned, and seems destined to be derelict for many years.

Our new premier is the proprietor of a third rate Disney debranding facility called Fantasy Gardens. Vancouver City has elected its first right wing government in years. The Disney teleport Bruno Freschi wanted built seems to be in place. There was a party in Vancouver, a very expensive one that brought the city into the suburbs of the Global Village. Its consequences are everywhere, and the citizens of Vancouver are going to be dealing with them for whatever future we are capable of imagining.

Brian Fawcett is a writer, teacher and planner. He is currently designing an industrial strategy for the city of York, Ontario. His most recent book is Cambodia: A Book for People Who Find Television Too Slow.
The Epicentery of the Text: LACANIAN PSYCHOANALYSIS

In previous issues, Borderlines has published several pieces, notably that by Brenda Longfellow in #6, which assume the importance of the French psychoanalyst, Jacques Lacan, for the feminist project. In this issue we present an article by Quebecois psychoanalyst Charles Levin which expands on the difficulties inherent in this appropriation both in the nature of Lacan's own work and in the manner of its incorporation into the feminist discourse, particularly in the work of Jane Gallop and Jacqueline Rose. Notably, Levin emphasizes the centrality of the phallic in the principle of signification in Lacan's work and, by extension, as the "essence of sexuality as an epistemology." Thus the Lacanian feminist "is left with the dismal prospect of endlessly displacing the general significance of signification itself, and thus repeating the whole problematic of the Lacanian text." Levin's challenge to French derived feminist theory is the first of a series of theoretical essays that Borderlines will publish on current debates in cultural theory.

Joan Davies

"In epipene language, as distink from language imagined as either neutral or androgynous, gender is variable at will, a mere metaphor (Jacobs, p. 49)."

"The author of any critique is himself framed by his own frame of the other... (Johnson, pp. 167, 165)."

The latter as a signifier is thus not a thing or the absence of a thing, nor a word or the absence of a word, nor an organ or the absence of an organ, but a knot in a structure where word, things, and organs can neither be definably separated nor compatibly combined...

FREUD and LACAN: THE PSYCHOLOGISTS OF TOTEMISM

In circles of social, cultural, literary, and film study — and among some feminists — Jacques Lacan has become something of an institution. He is commonly read in isolation from other psychoanalytic writers (Melanie Klein, Hanna Segal, Marion Milner, Edith Jacobson, Janet Chassegar-Smigel, to name only a few possibilities, apart from Freud himself, and his immediate circle). Even the best known of Lacan's contemporaries are rarely cited in the arts and social science literature, with the exception of Klein and D.W. Winnicott, who are mentioned very sparingly indeed. On the other hand, Lacan is taken seriously by nearly everyone doing up-to-date cultural or feminist research. And of course he is frequently cited on such matters as metaphor and metonymy, and on the relation of the tropes to the dreamwork. Nobody refers to Elsa Sharp (pp. 9-10, 19-39), who developed this connection in the nineteen thirties.

The reasons for this condensation of psychoanalytic thought into the lone figure of Lacan are no doubt obscure, but they may have to do with the logic of identification. In order for Lacan to embody psychoanalysis, psychoanalyst first has to be reduced to the body of Freud himself. Then, on the basis of a fantasy about the betrayal of this body, Lacan attempts to re-embodi true psychoanalysis (the "return to Freud") in "the name of the father." Thus Lacan appears well situated both to share and to resolve the feelings of ambivalence which anyone approaching psychoanalysis is likely to feel.

Nearing psychoanalysis, especially in the atmosphere of a totemic fantasy such as this, it is easy to feel as if one is entering an already controlled space — specifically, the authoritarian father's space. Moreover, as Lacan was to point out, the dead father is rather difficult to dislodge from his privileged position in the carefully self-cancelling structure of an obsessionist discourse. The deliberate patterns of displacement and deferral in Lacan's Ecrits and seminars provide a seductive occasion for the deflection and management of (Oedipal) ambivalence and conflict.

As Jane Gallop suggests in The Daughter's Seduction (pp. 33-36), Lacan's appeal to feminists may be related to the way in which he set himself up as "the cock of the walk," a kind of contemporary ally and lover who provides magical access to the feared and admired oppressor to be overthrown. Lacan not only does possess of the master, but reunites him as well: he is both a rebel and a redeemer, consuming and then expiating the crime of desiring to partake in a fantasized omnipotence, such as that so commonly ascribed to Freud himself, and so universally resented in him. Lacan serves, in other words, as a conduit for the projective identification onto the father.

The myth of Freud as primitive father is of course fundamental to psychoanalytic politics. If psychoanalysis is the dead body of Freud, then the rituals over his remains — the vigil against grave robbers, the appropriation and resurrection of the corpus as the body of the analyst himself, sitting at the right hand of Freud — are as characteristic of Lacanian practice as they are of members of the International. Lacan, however, is neither father, nor son, nor brother, but a kind of trinitarian demagogue — like Thoth, a devourer of writing, a "god of resurrection... interested...in death as a repetition of life and life as a rehearsal of death..."
FEMINIST METATHEORY

Charles Levin

Psychoanalytic "matriarchy" (Schlechman, p. 13). Princess Boraquate (who ravaged Freud after the Anschluss was not the only daughter (or imaginary wife) of Freud whose authority Lacan disputed. There was also Melanie Klein and Anna Freud herself, who between them precluded over English-speaking psychoanalysis for nearly half a century. Implicit in Lacan's denunciation of "ego psychology," and his return to Freud, was the fantasy of a march against domestication; the feminization of psychoanalytic theory. The publication of Anti-Oedipus during the heyday of Lacan's notoriety was a development of this, with its virile imagery of the social process, and its picture of Lacan himself as a family-oriented counter-insurgent who enunciated desire by theorizing it as a lack (Deleuze, 1972).

In general, the fact that Freud had a mother gets little play in the Lacanian imagination. But Freud actually seems to have had a privileged relationship with his mother. She had heard a prophecy that he would be a "great man," and told him about it. In some ways, Freud's feeling about his own creation, psychoanalysis, was like his mother's attitude toward him: he thought he had brought something significant into the world. A question -- or a fantasy -- arising out of this is the following: what if Freud were not only the stem and prohibitive professor-superego, but also a kind of mother, or even what Melanie Klein called the "good breast"? And what if the "conquering hero" of which Jones speaks in his biography of Freud were really psychoanalysis itself (as an opening, as something to be pursued, an adventure), and not Freud the man, or any other man or woman? Perhaps through his text, Freud was also able to say: "This is my space, which I want to share with you; but the world is out there, still to be discovered!" That is a symbolic relation to psychoanalysis very different from Lacan's, though it is not unlike the transference which Gallop managed to develop onto the work that Lacan left behind, in her Reading Lacan. Some Lacanian Themes

An interesting example of Lacan's status in contemporary discourse on culture comes from and in Jacqueline Rose's excellent introduction to the volume of essays on Feminine Sexuality by Lacan and his circle (Mitchell & Rose, 1983). What is so typical of this essay is not the handling of theoretical issues (which Rose does very well), but the mycogenic rhetoric in which the exposition of Lacan's "re-opening of the debate on feminine sexuality" is couched. Rose rejects the arguments of those, like Jones, Horney, or Klein, who dissected, in one way or another, from Freud's various hypotheses on gender. Yet, in describing Lacan's insight into sexual politics, she only reiterates the original line of reasoning used against Freud's claim that the analysis of the "physical consequences of the anatomical distinction between the sexes" leads to a kind of biological "bedrock" (Freud, 1937, p. 252). Rose insists that it is to Lacan alone (and his discovery of the signifier) that we owe the possibility of a genuine critique of phallocentricism according to her, I learn from her essay that the "bequest of sexual difference on possession or absence of the phalus "covers over the complexity of the child's early sexual life with a"...
The Lacanian father may be an oppressor, but he remains the only source of order, while the mother becomes much more dangerous: she is the betrayer.

The justification of Rose’s wholesale rejection of all but Lacanian developments of psychoanalytic lies in her contention that Lacan alone recognized that the unconscious can never be admitted to the historical subject. Stated in this general way, however, it is difficult to see how a Freudian group of the ‘link between sexuality and the unconscious’ can be denied to everyone but Lacan. What is in fact specific to Lacan is a claim about the structure of the unconscious — namely, that it is segmented, like a written language, or any other system of inscription, and that it functions according to the laws of association and contiguity. Lacan extended this claim by suggesting that language and the unconscious — and by extension, sexuality — are homologically structured through their common link to an essential process of substitution, or what he often describes, in allusion to a number of competing linguistic models, as ‘metonymy’. Substitutability is, of course, a basic property of any unit defined within a digitally constructed symbolic system of signification. But Lacanian unconsciouness could be defined as such a system, governed by mechanisms of displacement, then psychoanalysis would be a muthus, whose subject would be exhaustively describable in terms of linguistic ‘laws’ of syntactic and algorithmic graphs.2 But whichever Lacan specifies the linguistic structures of desire, he merely invokes a formalist reformation of the functions of the dreamwork and the structure of compromise formations; they remain identical; or adumbrates a discourse model of some feature of superego conflict, like formal oscillations and manic flights.

Rose by no means accepts the poststructural interpretation of Lacan’s work. But she does adopt its corollary, which is that subjective experience (including the emotional experience of material object relations) is epiphenomenal, and not the proper object of psychoanalytic work. Neither Rose nor Lacan have much to say about signification, which are arranged in systems and patterns either compelling or undermining the illusion of subjectivity. The Lacanian Symbolic is an impersonal structural causality (e.g., Altmann, p. 216; Lacan, 1964, pp. 20-1), which acts externally like a social force. The subject is only determined in the sense that desire itself cannot really be experienced, except in terms of its effects, which are always organized into orders of significations. In this objectivistic conception of the substitution process, therefore, the basic psychoanalytic principle of the decodification of the subject is disconnected from the existential experience of indeterminacy and complexity, and related instead to a quasi-sociological reduction: the subject is decodified for Lacan because it is determined — because, in other words, it will be fixed in advance. The irony of this is consequently that whenever Lacanian thought attempts to demonstrate the ‘arbitrariness’ of sexual identity, it in practice reinforces an underlying argument for its necessity, by removing the sources of sexual structuration to an ideal region outside the history of bodily experience as psychoanalysis has been able to understand it.

Theoretical Problems

The implications of Rose’s sociolinguistic approach to the unconscious emerge clearly from her exclusion of alternative perspectives on the mirroring relationships of early infancy. In particular, which are obviously violent. They also elicit an environment — they are not restricted to the pure expression of behavioral psychology and the theory of primary narcissism.4 All of these qualities of the small child’s subjectivity can be imputed, recognized, respected, and accepted by the child’s subjects — or at the other extreme, they can be ignored, denied, or utterly disqualified. Of course, the infant will always have to learn to take others into account more than she can wish to do. Freud’s reality principle, like Lacan’s Symbolic Order, says essentially this. But when the infant’s expressiveness is systematically disqualified — or in other words, when the caretaker(s) can only “print an image to the child” (as Rose would have it), while being unable “mirror the child back to itself”, the survival of the child will come to depend on an inordinate degree of self-repression and reactivity. The schizoid sense of the unreality of one’s own being that develops out of this passive survival strategy of the ego is not due solely to the assumption of an illusory or Imaginary identity in a universal mirror stage,” as Rose, following Lacan, maintains, but also to a particular and local disregard for the infant’s differences. Whether the ‘lack’ to which Lacan refers is, in the last analysis, an ontological condition, or may also spring from a failure to acknowledge the child as an independent being in its relation with others. The danger and implication of this, by another, of one’s distinctness, has nothing to do with the “ideology of the
The text/suprastructure, secondary drive model works itself out in Rose's view of Lacan through a vision of human sexuality as a wholly ideological construction masking the "fragmented and aberrant nature of sexuality itself" (p. 28). Sexuality as we know it, then — sexuality as constituted in language — is an arbitrary fusion of disparate bits and pieces of instinctual nature and accreted psychic experiences into a false identity, a streamlined discourse inflicted on the hapless subject by the Symbolic Order. Of course, there is no doubt that the emotional meaning of bodily experience is extremely plastic, especially in early childhood, when something like polymorphous perversity is more prevalent. However, the Lacanian theory of infancy supplements this with an implicit myth of origins — that the state of nature is an original chaos. If one is going to make a biological hypothesis out of sexual indeterminacy (a standard behaviorist assumption), then one also has to take into account the other psychological facts about neuroses their perceptual, emotional, and cognitive aspects. For, as we have already seen, the newborn child is much more coordinated, aware, and sensitive to the external environment than most academicians were prepared to believe in Lacan's day.

The Text and the Anti-Text

The widespread belief that Lacan represents the only critical development within psychoanalysis since Freud has encouraged an overestimation of the arbitrariness of subjective psychosocial experience. Yet the apparent regularities of human sexuality (which need to be either widely exaggerated or grossly underestimated) cannot be explained entirely by the hypothesis of an endlessly displaced instinct or signifier. And so the doctrine of essential sexual randomness seeks compensation in an overly sanitized, structural-linguistic (i.e., disembodied) conception of the symbolic process.

Lacan was perhaps the only psychoanalytic innovator of his generation not to take advantage of the fact that symbolization begins in the baby's body, rather than with the father's (Symbolic) intervention against the (imaginary) "mother-child dual unity." His effective bypassing of the intimate role the mother plays, in Western culture, in the child's symbolic and linguistic development led him to pose the question of the psychic significance of the signifying gesture in an original way. Lacan's emphasis on the link between symbolization and the paternal order had the welcome effect of enriching phallocentric criticism of the ideal types of linguistic 'meaning' privileged in the rationalist tradition (Brigida, 1985).

But the deeper influence of Lacan's thought has been to reinforce the Cartesian ontological split on a new level (cf. Gallop, 1985, pp. 50-60,160). Lacanian deconstruction depends, in practice, on a hypostatization of systems: in the Lacanian tradition, 'play' is derived theoretically from that manipulability of the formal elements which make up systems of signification, and not from the symbolizing body. The concrete and irreducible — what cannot be accounted for on the formal plane of rational codification — tends to be deduced from logical failures of the ideal type, as revealed through manipulation of the linguistic signifier. From this has developed the technique of deconstruction, which always produces the informal as a by-product or effect of the formal. In consequence, post-Lacanian theory has found itself in the uncomfortable position of having to derive and to explain the tacit and arational dimension of experience, while treating hypothetical "systems," such as language, as given.

According to Jacqueline Rose, language is always moving in two directions, or functioning in contradictory ways. At the superstructural level, language tends toward the fixing of meaning, the fusion of signifier and signified, which entails the "positioning" of the subject in the symbolic order and the imposition of an arbitrary sexual identity. In the infrastructural level, however, language engenders the displacement of meaning, which produces the displacement of the subject and what Rose describes as the 'constant failure' of sexuality.

The problem with this account is not that it challenges the capacity of a substantive language to name sexuality, but that it reduces sexuality to the insufficiencies and aporias of the signifying process itself. Sexuality becomes the crisis of universal semiosis. The point is not to deny the confinements of sexuality and language, but to show that the axis of Rose's linguistic perspective in the traditional base-suprastructure model generates an abstract opposition between form (invariably lying language) and material (a hypothetical deduction of sexuality as excess or remainder of linguistic systems), which might be termed the dialectic of the text and the anti-text. The orientation of this epistemological framework is a double one. In the beginning, the world can be known only through the text, the order of writing, which is thus in a sense a kind of original secondary reality. But the knowledge gained by means of the text is always re-marked by an Other, the invisible and illusive anti-text, which exercises, sui generis, a powerful disruptive influence.

In Rose's more sober terms, this means that sexuality (and by implication, all of our psychosomatic being, or 'body,' in the psychological sense) is a piece of social writing — a superimposition, or inscription. "For Lacan...there is no prelinguistic reality (p. 55)..." On the other hand, Rose is saying, there lies concealed beneath (and in a sense within) this observable but arbitrary order of signifiers, a kind of anti-text, which is like a pure potentia, a formless plasticity which subsists in the blanks between the marks — in the margins, gaps and abysses which inhabit the order of discourse, with its invisible plane of discrete elements.
Lacanians, ex-Lacanians and deconstructivists have argued interminably about whether the phallic is the penis, or is not the penis, and about whether discourse may after all really be organized around something other than the phallus.

As with the Symbolic, the phallus for Lacan is something abstract, hardly part of the body, or even an experience of the body: it is a metatheoretical function, a digital principle in structural terms, the differential function of signification; in Gontard terms (the terms of the mirror stage), the function of the 'figure' (standing out against a ground, but capable of oscillating with it); and in epistemological terms, the function of substitution as an originary condition (the simulacrum), the basic principle of philosophical deconstruction.

The discursive function of the phallus resembles a sort of rationalized version of children's common fantasy about fables. The wish of the phallic child is that the relations between human bodies of children's common fantasy about fables. The wish of the phallic child is that the relations between human bodies be simplified into a kind of political economy. In a discursive variant of this, the exchange value would be the signifier, which embodies the condition of their fertility. In possession of the idealized (presumably real) substitutes for the parents' sexual maturities (their breasts and balls, the mysterious (mis)read of the male body, the penis, and so on) the phallic child fantasizes a competition with the aggrandized parents, a satisfaction of their desires, a production of babies, even a self-production.

As that which circulates in the form of substitutability (exchange value), the phallus can be neither the metalinguistic nor the metapsychological principle of difference, except in so far as these principles themselves are necessarily simulations. Difference is not a form, it does not circulate -- in other words, it has little to do with the psychoanalytic linguistic ontology which post-Lacanian philosophy has transposed into a theory of textuality. If difference is to be significant and original, then it is unlikely that the phallus, either as a gender sign, or as the Ursprung of signification, can have anything to do with it. Difference is particular. It cannot therefore be systematized, or pinned up on a semiotic grid; which means it cannot be reduced to the general, formal principle of the signifier, or to a coded discourses, or to any of Lacan's "laws" and algorithms of the phallic and the father. But instead of simply abandoning the whole Lacanian paradigm, post-Lacanian thought has become inextricably enmeshed in this problem of reserving difference ever universalizing or formalizing it, and then having to rescue difference from the very attempt to save it.

Although difference cannot be thought in terms of the abstract and generalizing (or digital) dialectics of linguistic and cultural coding, the Lacanian phallus remains an important concept -- not because it is the (dia)semiotic "knot" (not the "spins") from which the textual conscious is unravelled, but precisely because the phallus is an idealisation of desire. It is a kind of "defence"; a deglossage of unconscious process, a figural sublimation of desire. Schematically visible (but oscillating and self-consuming), it functions like the preconscious stratum of a splitting of the body, this is what Lacan means when he said that the phallus "can play its role only when veiled" (1966, p. 285).

The Oedipal termination of infancy represents the linguistic crisis of the psyche: the man is neither the infant of the dream state and unconscious perception. The phallic defense is erected against the potential loss of the symbolic function itself, the dissolution of formal or conscious difference in regression to unmediated differences, differences without applied structures to hold them in place for consciousness. In the transition from the imaginary to the Symbolic, the emotional intensity of the infantile body is subordinated to the phallic one, and mediated by the function of differentiation and substitution.

The veiled phallus, the simulacrum, corresponds to the figure-ground problem of a double profile (cf. Ehrenwein). The "signifier" is like the 'right hand' side of the vertical split, the complement of which is the tucked left hand of castration and death -- the "abyss." Like the 'fort' and the 'da' (Lacan, 1953, p. 83), they are both available to consciousness, but mutually exclusive at any given moment. What is incoherent to phallic generalization is the special case of power nor the image of nothingness (both manageable idealizations), but the possibility of "disferentiation" (Ehrenwein), the decodiifying regression which leaves the psyche defenseless against itself. On the contradictory surface of this undifferentiated difference -- unwilled order (Milner), meaning without focus, body without mind -- the complementary sides of the idealizing split, the 'phallus' and the 'hole,' dance brilliantly back and forth, each reviving as the other fails, never losing themselves in each other.

The problem of idealization, and how it affects human sexuality (as an incoercible part of it), is an important theme of Jane Gallop's (1985) masterful LACAN. Gallop addresses the question in the most direct way possible -- through the medium of her transformation onto Lacanian self. She works through Lacan's texts in terms of her own impulse to rationalize and split, to idealize and defvalue, to double each experience into manageable separate but interchangeable chains of affirmation and negation. A particularly impressive occasion for these reflections occurs in Gallop's encounter with Lacan's famous essay on the phallus. After some twenty readings, Gallop had noticed that at the top of page 590 of the original French edition of Ecrits, the word phallicus itself was, inexplicably, not accompanied by the usual masculine article "le," as proper French requires, but by the feminine "La." The ramifications of such a lapse for a
close reader of Lacan are far from trivial. Like the phallic itself, the word "La" is, according to Lacan, a signifier without a signified. In the seminar "Encore," he frequently crossed out the feminine article when it appeared in conjunction with the word for "woman," declaring, "Il n'y a pas la femme, la femme n'est pas toute" (Lacan, 1975, pp. 13, 68). One can imagine Gallop's ready delight when she encountered the misprint "La phallos" at the very beginning of the page. "A feeling of exhilaration accompanies my glide from "phallos" to "La." Loaded down with the seriousness of ideological meaning and sexual history, the phallos misfires in its confusion with the male organ, "La" seems to fly above all that in a disembodied ether of pure language, an epitome utopia where "gender is variable at will." But the "La" at the top of page 690 is nearly impossible to read, although I am convinced of the arbitrary relation between signifier and signified, the masculinity of the phallic signifier serves as well as an emblem of the confusion between phallos and male which inheres in language, in our Symbolic Order (p. 140)."

In this passage, Gallop traces the two movements of language from Jacques Lacan's work. In particular, she quotes from Alice Miller's "On the reality principle" in which Lacan describes. In the rising (or "slipping") phase, the phallos, as signifier, is liberated from the penis, as signified, in order to become the figure of an asexual or perhaps bisexual freedom, the trace of an "epitome utopia." In the falling (or "fixing") phase, however, signifier and signified are reconected, to mark or "fix" the masculinity of the "symbolic order." "June Gallop's temptation was to soar. After twenty odd readings of the phallos, her discovery of the misprint "La" makes her feel weightless -- she suddenly inhabits a utopia in which "gender is variable at will." And so it takes all the aviodropsis of the penis to bring her back down again."

But Gallop is a brilliant allogist. There is no inquisition that the phallos (or an alleged "symbolic order") returns Gallop to her body. Gallop just is her body, and not leaves it for there is never the inhabitant of an "epitome utopia," a "disembodied ether of pure language," whose "gender is variable at will." What this clever Lacanian tale dramatizes is that there is no escape into language, that there is no such thing as the "liberation of the signifier," except as a fantasy of absconding from physical existence. The only alternative to embodiment is disembodiment or protracted hyper-evolution. But since Lacanian theory is derived from the phallic significance of language, psyche and culture, Lacanian feminism is left with the diurnal prospect of endlessly displacing the general significations of signification itself, and thus repeating the whole problematic of the Lacanian text. Such is the strategy evolved through deconstruction to grant Lacan's ideal function (often performing under another name the phallos) such a privileged autonomy as to permanently disjoin it from all play of meaning, all reference to the physical body; or to so generalize the linguistic function of the phallic as to make it mean (or "fail" to mean) virtually anything. But in either case, the phallic (or formalist) theory of difference only increases the power of the phallos to govern the feminist discourse, while occasionally remaining linked to the genital organs through a dualism, or repeated denunciations of the confusion between the ratified "Symbolic" and its irreducible referent.

If we take the foregoing as a more or less plausible rendition of what has been going on in radical academic discussion, then the question arises: why is that the grandaddy of the phallic function in Lacanian discourse, in other words, virtually indistinguishable from Rabelaisian parody. But there is another, more daily rationalist explanation. The Lacanian Phallic Principle, of course, implicated in primary semiotics, an orioinary loss of meaning, the "Urverbreitung," which unconsciously drives the public celebration of ideals. The sheer grandaddy of the phallic function in Lacanian discourse, in other words, the vacuum where the phallos can mean everything and nothing, and "gender is variable at will," is not the recovery of desire, or a reification of the uncodified (or decodified) body -- but only the splitting and projection, the idealization of the text itself. "A configuration of velle, folds, and quills, writing prepares to receive the seminal spurt of a throw of dice" (Derrida, 1981, p. 285). The endless structural play of abstract oppositions we have inherited (signifier vs. signified, mark vs. blank, phallos vs. castration, writing vs. abyss, presence vs. absence, father vs. mother, culture vs. nature, etc.) is none of this ever disturbed in the slightest, no matter how it is manipulated, because the digital form of splitting is implicit in the code of inscription that Lacan laid down. The "phallos" is the essence of textuality as an epistemology.

Notes
1. This paper was first presented at Elspeth Probyn's C.C.A. panel on "Feminist Perspectives in Communication," Winnipeg, June, 1986.
2. One of the implications of Lacan's anchoring of the Symbolic in the paternal phallos is that desire itself is conceived in its most fundamental constitution as little more than a displacement of narcissistic envy, since Lacanian desire has its roots in the "desire of the Other," which for Lacan is originally the mother's projection of "lack." Deleuze's Nietzschean reading of Lacanian desire at resentiment is thus entirely appropriate.
3. At a recent conference on "post-structuralism," at the University of Ottawa (1985), the addresses of Ellie Raglan-Sullivan, Jacques Alain-Miller, and Stuart Schneiderman all traded on the medico-linguistic fantasy of Lacan's 'discovery' of the 'structures' of the unconscious.
4. The outlook of experimental psychology has changed in the last ten years, largely as a result of more sophisticated infant research. For psychodynamically oriented summaries.
and interpretations of neoanatological research, see Daniel Stern, The
Interpersonal World of the Infant (New
York: Basic Books, 1985) and Victoria
Hamilton, Narcissus and Oedipus: the
Children of Psychoanalysis (London:
RKP, 1982). The view of classical and
Lacanian psychoanalysis is stated in
Juliet Mitchell's review of Hamilton in
'Psychoanalysis and Child
Development,' New Left Review, 140

Selected Bibliography

DEDIFFERENTIATION, UNINTEGRATION, REGRESSION:

Ehrenreich, Arno, The Hidden Order
of Art. Berkeley: University of

Milner, Marion, On Not Being Able

Winnicott, D.W. Playing and Reality.
Hammondsworth, Middlesex:

METATHIEORETICAL STUDIES ON
PSYCHOANALYSIS:

Dolezalek, Gilles, and Felix Guattari
(1972). Anti-Oedipus: Capitalist and
Schizophrenia. Trans. Robert Hurley,

Derrida, Jacques. La carte postale: de
Socrate à Freud et au delà.

Dinnerstein, Dorothy. The Mermaid
and the Minotaur: Sexual Arrangements
and Human Malaise. New York: Harper
& Row, 1977.

Gallop, Jane, Reading Lacan. Ithaca:

Irigaray, Luce. Speculum of the Other
Woman. Trans. Gillian G. Gill.

Johnson, Barbara. "The Frame of
Reference: Poe, Lacan, Derrida." In
Psychoanalysis and the Question of the
Text. Ed. Geoffrey H. Hartman
Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University

Kofman, Sarah. The Enigma of
Woman: Woman in Freud's Writings.
Trans. Catherine Porter. Ithaca: Cornell

Minneapolis: University of

OTHER TEXTS CITED:

Baudrillard, Jean (1976). "The
Structural Law of Value and the Order of
Simulacra." In The Structural Allegory:
Reconstructive Encounters with the
Minneapolis: University of Minnesota

Derrida, Jacques. Dissemination.
Trans. Barbara Johnson. Chicago:

Freud, Sigmund (1900). The
Interpretation of Dreams. The Standard
Edition of the Complete Psychological
Works of Sigmund Freud, Vol. 5.
Trans. James Strachey. London:
Hogarth, 1953-74.

----- (1937), "Analysis Terminable and Interminable." Standard

Jacobs, Mary, "The Question of
Language: Men of Maxims and The
Mill on the Floss." In Writing and
Chicago: University of Chicago Press,

Klein, Melanie (1932). The
Psychoanalysis of Children. Trans.

Sharp, Elia (1937). Dreams
Analysis. New York: Brunner/Mazel,
1978.

Charles Levin is a writer and student of
psychoanalysis. He is the
translator of Jean Baudrillard's For a
Critique of the Political Economy of the
Sign, and currently teaches at Dawson
College in Montréal.
Trois duos

Claude Debussy    piano
Paul Desmond     saxophone alto
Gustav Mahler    piano
Lester Young     saxophone ténor
Manuel de Falla  piano
Charles Mingus  contrebasse

Présentés par le Musée d’art contemporain dans le cadre de l’exposition Elementa Naturae
Montréal  7 juin – 6 septembre 1987
entrée libre

ElementaeMusicae
by Raymond Gervais
From the exhibition:
Elementa Naturae
Musée d’art contemporain de Montréal
Summer 1987
TWO STORIES
FROM
ST PIERRE ET MIQUELON

THE STORIES AND legends of a community or a region arise in large measure from their history and from their physical, social and ethnic "space." Thus before talking about the oral narratives of Saint Pierre and Miquelon, I would like to say a little bit about the history and people of the islands -- particularly since this tiny French Territory off our coast is so little known.

The archipelago of the Islands of Saint Pierre et Miquelon is composed of a group of islands situated 12 nautical miles off Newfoundland's south coast. The first European eyes to see these islands were perhaps those of the Vikings in the 11th century, or of the Basque whale hunters in the 15th. But the "official" discovery of the islands was made by the Portuguese navigator João Álvarez Fagundes on October 21, 1520. The following year the islands -- along with Newfoundland -- were declared to him by the King of Portugal (Emmanuel I) as the archipelago of the "Eleven Thousand Virgins." By 1530 the name "The Islands of Saint-Pierre" had become more common, and on June 11, 1536, on his second voyage to Canada, Jacques Cartier spent six days there and noted the presence of several other ships both from France and Britain. He claimed possession of the islands in the name of François I, King of France.

The three principal islands are Saint Pierre, Miquelon and Langlade. Saint Pierre, the smallest of the three (2511 hectares) is also the most densely settled and owns its name to Saint Peter, the patron saint of fishermen. The name of the largest island, Miquelon (11,458 hectares) comes from the Spanish and Portuguese name Miguel. Since the beginning of the 18th century it has been linked to Langlade (9135 hectares) by the 12 km long isthmus of sand known as "La Dune." Before then, there was a strait between the two islands which was often used by ships. The unlikelihood of the weather and shifting sands of this strait accounted for more than 600 shipwrecks. It was the carcasses of these ships which gradually fixed and held the shifting sands so that by 1780, the passage was definitively closed. As can be seen by one of the stories which follows this introduction, La Dune and its shipwrecks have a special place in the legend and stories of Saint Pierre et Miquelon.

There was no permanent inhabitants of the islands until 1604, and by the early 18th century, there were 200 inhabitants -- compared to 650 today. At the time, Saint Pierre et Miquelon were closely linked to the French settlements on the South Coast of Newfoundland whose capital, Plaisance, was fortified against the English in 1660. Saint Pierre had its own fortifications ten years later, and the town of Saint Pierre was raised nine times between 1688 and 1713 when the Treaty of Utrecht ceded Acadia, Newfoundland and the Islands of Saint Pierre et Miquelon to England. While France was granted fishing rights in the region, the French settlers from Saint Pierre and Plaisance were resettled to Louisbourg on Île Royale, now the island of Cape Breton. This forced eviction lasted for fifty years (1713-1763).

During that time Île Royale became the centre of the French fishery in the Atlantic, and Louisbourg replaced Plaisance as an important economic centre. It fell to the British in 1758 and marked the loss of La Nouvelle France. According to the Treaty of Paris (1763), France lost almost all of its Canadian possessions -- including Île Royale -- but regained the Islands of Saint Pierre et Miquelon as a base for French fishermen. A new period of settlement began with Miquelon as the main population centre, with immigrants from France as well as Audalians.

Today the population of Miquelon is roughly the same as in 1767 when the island's 103 families numbered 552 people.

During the American War of Independence, in which France sided with the insurgents, Britain accused Saint Pierre et Miquelon of serving as an arms depot for those fighting for independence; and it worried about the influence of the archipelago on its own newly annexed French population in Canada. In September 1776 an English squadron commanded by Admiral Montague (the governor of Newfoundland) attacked Saint Pierre which was defended by only 31 soldiers and six canons. The 1,300 inhabitants were deported to England and the islands were again deserted.

With the Treaty of Versailles in 1783, Saint Pierre was returned to France. Ten years later, following the French Revolution and the subsequent hostilities between England and France, there was another British attack on the islands and a third deportation of the inhabitants, this time to Halifax where they were interned for two years before being repatriated to France. English fishermen from Newfoundland established themselves on the islands where they lived peacefully until 1796 when, in an act of spite, the French admiral Richery, having failed in his attack on Saint John's, sank 80 English fishing boats and leveled the town of Saint Pierre, thus earning him a street name in Saint Pierre.

Thanks to the stubbornness of Talleyrand, the Treaty of Vienna (1816) gave the island back to France. The return took place on June 22, 1816. In a letter dated a few days later, the governor Bourliou wrote that "the islands were as naked as on the day of their discovery." This is one of the features of the paradoxical history of Saint Pierre and Miquelon; that 300 years after their discovery by Europeans and after almost 200 years of continuous habitation, the islands were deserted as ever. The lived history and memories of its present inhabitants begins as it were at this point, and yet it had already had a long history.
The last 150 years have been relatively untroubled, although there has been resentment and demonstrations on the part of the local population about their being governed from afar.

If the islands of Saint Pierre et Miquelon were for more than 200 years the stakes in a struggle between France and England, it is because they are situated in the midst of the richest fishery in the world; cod fishing might be said to have played the same role in its development as did the fur trade in Canada.

The inhabitants of Saint Pierre et Miquelon come primarily from three separate regions and cultures in France: from Normandy, Brittany and from the Basque country, although today the latter two languages are no longer to be heard. The islanders speak a French whose accents are closer to metropolitan France than to that spoken in many French provinces. Their spoken language shows great vitality, and is filled with colourful maritime imagery and other local images and expressions.

Until now, I have focused on the historical components as a way of stressing its historical discontinuity which had an important influence on the transmission of oral culture. Exile and destruction tore the islanders from the stability of a tradition which usually leads to popular creation. But with each devastation, with each departure, the islanders lost not only their hard-earned possessions, but their collective memory, the cultural patrimony which they left behind each time they were forced to leave the islands.

In 1816 peace returned to the islands. But with it came the tenaciously working traditions of a colonial administration. Centralization has only hindered the development and circulation of local popular culture. France is a much more centralized federal system than is Canada, and culture and education are preemptively federal matters in which the particular status or distance from the centre are irrelevant. School teachers and curriculum were imported from France, while the history of the archipelago was not taught in the schools — a situation which still exists today! While this framework, the tales of indigenous storytellers were often ridiculed or simply ignored.

This isolation also limits these contacts and exchanges with the outside which are so important for the stimulation and renewal of local folklore — the contact afforded by travelling players and theatre troupes.

This is not to say however that there is no oral narrative tradition in Saint Pierre et Miquelon, for the book which I have just published with my father (the curator of the museum of Saint Pierre) and from which the following stories are taken demonstrates the contrary. But it must be remembered that this popular literature remains profoundly marked by the remnants and relics of its history.

In the book we set ourselves three goals: a work of preservation as well as an aesthetic and sociological task.

As a work of preservation our book is a collection of stories and legends gathered on the islands, in most cases from the mouths of local informants. At this level we are interested in preserving these simple, humble stories — which are at times dramatic, at times facetious, sometimes strange and even fantastic, and at times realistic, serious or light, naive or saucy — as instances of a collective cultural identity, of the specific genius of the rocks and earth and surrounding ocean which is Saint Pierre et Miquelon. The stories that we have collected come from three sources. Most come from local informants (from both Saint Pierre and from Miquelon) who were willing to open up their memories for us. These stories were either taped or jotted down, and then used as a thematic and narrative ‘canvas’ for a later elaboration. A second category of tales is that of the few already existing written texts (some printed). Finally a third category is composed of stories which we had in our archives, including stories and tales known to all the islanders but never written down, or stories told from generation to generation in our own family. In putting together this collection, we have tried to avoid repetition and to present as wide and representative a range of the popular memory as possible, while also showing their formal differences: tales, legends, stories, proverbs, narrative poems, anecdotes, proverbs and expressions linked to religious holidays and to the seasons. This work of conservation seemed all the more urgent to us inasmuch as the collecting and writing down of the creations of the popular imagination had never been undertaken before.

As for the aesthetic dimension of our work, the question of the written presentation of an oral text is a controversial one. One school, primarily developed by ethnographers, maintains that the oral tale must be reproduced exactly as it was spontaneously produced orally. While it is certainly true that a text which remains as faithful as possible to its oral presentation has a truthfulness and authenticity which may gladden the heart of the specialist, it seemed to us that the task of preserving those works of the popular imagination implied as well that they become known by readers who read for the pleasure they find in the text. From this point of view, it must be pointed out that with a few exceptions, the oral performances of most of the story-tellers are often dull and colorless; transcribed they are often unreadable. We have thus very deliberately chosen to rework the oral tales we collected, with a larger readership in mind. Reworking, however, does not mean betraying the original material, but to the contrary, it means making it more accessible and more attractive. It was imperative to retain the themes and narrative lines of the original stories even as we applied more literary techniques of representation. In almost every instance, we have developed the original canvas, usually in terms of description. Although literary theory often argues that description has only a secondary role to play when compared to the unfolding of events in a short story, this is not the impression of the reader. For the reader, description is an opportunity to learn about the atmosphere, to meet picturesque characters, and to set them in an historical, social and geographical context which is an important part of the pleasure of reading a short story and the means by which information about the customs and habits of a culture are transmitted.
In terms of the style, it seemed to us important to harmonize the content of the tales, to respect the tone of each and to try to reproduce a "reality effect" which was that of the specific historical epoch in which it was produced. It would have been anachronistic to tell these stories, most of which can be traced back to the last century, in a modern way. The stories themselves determined how they would be told, just as verisimilitude led us to include local expressions and terms. (We have included a glossary at the end of the volume.)

Finally, in sociological terms, through the diversity of theme, genre and tone in these stories, we hoped to help the reader to glimpse—behind the characters and their imaginary situations—the collectivity which has produced them and for which these tales and legends serve as a reservoir of cultural values, a repository of beliefs and dreams, of images used consciously and unconsciously to represent the desires and anxieties of a community. Reading the tales and legends produced by the popular imagination of the stories is not only a voyage into the past, but the beginning of a larger quest for origins. Beyond the fictional and mythical version of the stories, the attentive reader may become aware of the rules and form through which the social cohesion of a collectivity is maintained and transmitted from generation to generation. For these stories serve as examples for each new generation; they provide guidelines and limits, the signs of belonging of the members of the community. For outsiders these tales are the reflection of a popular wisdom which becomes, by its very difference, because it is not their own, an object of fascination and enchantment.

(Translated by Peter Fitzting)

“MARTI GALLAND”

Vivait aux îles au début de la colonisation française un pilote nommé Marti Galland. On racontait que sa femme, adorable et de charme, avait dû partir pour l'Amérique du Sud avec un homme de bonne réputation. Marti, trop amoureux, ne put résister à l'attraction de l'aventure. Un soir, il quitta son poste et partit à l'aventure, une promenade en mer, il ne rentra jamais. Le lendemain, marti Galland est élu député du district de la colonie. Il s’est occupé de la santé du navigateur et de ses expéditions. Marti Galland se trouva dans l'histoire. Le lendemain, son secret. Les dantes emprunterrent dans le silence l'intervalle sans doute le plus rafraîchissant de leur voyage. Sur le chemin de retour, il leur dit ce que la musique avait dit à d'autres personnes. Sur le chemin de retour, il leur dit ce que la musique avait dit à d'autres personnes. Sur le chemin de retour, il leur dit ce que la musique avait dit à d'autres personnes. Sur le chemin de retour, il leur dit ce que la musique avait dit à d'autres personnes. Sur le chemin de retour, il leur dit ce que la musique avait dit à d'autres personnes. Sur le chemin de retour, il leur dit ce que la musique avait dit à d'autres personnes. Sur le chemin de retour, il leur dit ce que la musique avait dit à d'autres personnes. Sur le chemin de retour, il leur dit ce que la musique avait dit à d'autres personnes. Sur le chemin de retour, il leur dit ce que la musique avait dit à d'autres personnes. Sur le chemin de retour, il leur dit ce que la musique avait dit à d'autres personnes.
"La Dune Infranchissable"

C'était encore l'époque où deux gendarmes séjournaient à Langlade pour assurer le service de la poste avec Miquelon et le phare de la Pointe Plate, tout à la fois à l'excentricité occidentale de la rive. Les quelque fermes dites en ces deux employaient alors à l'année longue une rambouille de garçons, car la main-d'œuvre en ce temps-là était chère et peu nombreuse. Le plus important de ces domaines était situé aux environs immédiats de l'Anse du Gouvernement. La rivière des deux gendarmes avait eu lieu l'automne. Les deux nouveaux, sages dans un pimant et avantageux uniforme, étaient venus de France de l'école d'âge et se trouvaient peu au fait des habitudes et des traditions du pays. Un jour d'octobre, le troisième, la rive de Saint-Pierre Mouillée dans l'Anse du Gouvernement. Outre le courrier et la police, se rendit dans des groupes de grosse toile soyeuse d'un cachet rouge, le salut d'un perroquet de phonie et des fonctionnaires civils de Miquelon. Très zélés les deux gendarmes décidèrent de partir à l'envi, tout en se promettant de faire au retour une route à la ferme voisine afin de se restaurer et d'arranger avec les fermiers les dernières nouvelles.

"Où diable allez-vous donc en pareil équipage ?" leur dit un homme qui passait par le chemin. "Et le dîner ?" lui dit un autre.

"N'avez-vous pas après l'arrivée de la navette ?" répondit l'un des gendarmes. "Il y a du courrier urgent pour Miquelon et nous nous apprêtons à nous y rendre au train de nos chevaux."

"Votre place !" s'écria un homme. "Vous avez un fermier pour vous accompagner, un jour qui est pour le dîner des événements. Aucun dîner n'est pas plus à la ferme qu'au cheval."

A ces mots les deux gendarmes éclatèrent d'un rire sincère et se moquèrent des fermiers et des valets qui traitent d'incongruits supratolis et de potrons.

"Il est bien qui rira le dernier, dit le fermier. "Quoi que vous deviez vous avertir !"

Sur les divies heures du soir, après avoir tâché un déjeuner de vin, les deux gendarmes quittèrent la ferme au grand galop de leurs montures. Ils chevauchèrent ainsi à tout brin une heure durant en suivant le littoral de la Dune. Soudain les chevaux s'arrêtèrent et ne bougèrent pas sur place. Les deux gendarmes se rendirent dans le coin de leurs valets. Ils firent deux petites gorges. "Ils nous ont dit que le dîner était très proche et que nous allions nous apercevoir d'une table," dit l'un. Les deux gendarmes se mirent à rire et se mirent à plier de tous côtés.

"Mais nous avons nos hords canaillers, nos émaciers de diners. Comme ils ont une idée d'air ! On dirait qu'ils trimbale ! Et qu'ils sont plâtre ! Tremblez-vous messieurs ! Aviez-vous rencontré le dîner où l'un des esprits malentendants dont vous vous moquez tout à l'heure ?"

La fermière éclata, vivement amusée, les plaisanteries de son valet. Puis apporta par la mine décrite des deux gendarmes chez qui la honte commença à emporter sur la peau, il fit taire le valet, son ordre d'ommettre les chevaux à l'oeuvre et de résumer dans leur grenier. La fermière étendit deux pelles sous le carreau de la cuisine et les deux représentants de la loi s'y assisent l'un à droite et l'autre à gauche, se mettant à plier de tous côtés. Le matin suivant, à l'heure du départ, ils trouvèrent à leurs hôtesses très rongés. Ils n'ont pas dû trouver d'appetit qui étaient, faute de réalisation, à réduire de leur dosse dévasté. Mais il faut dire que le matin ils ont procédé verbal pour l'ordinaire et se passait de la ressource de pêchermots "inoffensifs."

Leur repos et leur récit achevé, les deux gendarmes reprirent la route de Miquelon où ils arrivaient sans encombre en c'est de l'après-midi. C'était une de ces magnifiques journées d'automne où le clou du jour harmonisait à celle du paysage. La Dune était plate, étalant sous un soleil qui ses acclamations dorés. Le ciel de bleu limpide, se reflétait dans l'azur des rivières. Rien ne rappelait l'époque de la nuit, si ce n'était au début d'un autre, montant la piquée uniforme du soir, comme un plébiscite de chevaux dans la sable.

D'après un récit oral de René Olivier.

These two stories are taken from Joseph et Roland Le Huenen, Contes, récits et légendes des Îles Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, Moncton: Editions d'Acadie, 1985, 200pp., $10.50. This book was awarded the "France-Acadie" prize in France by the Association des Amis Acadie.

Roland Le Huenen is a professor of French at Viceroy College, University of Toronto, with a special interest in the novels of Balzac and in travel narratives.
GUIDELINES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

Border/lines is an interdisciplinary, inter-genre magazine committed to explorations in all aspects of culture—including popular culture, fine arts, gender, literature, multiculturalism, mass communication, and political culture. Although its geographic focus is Canada, this is taken as meaning anything that is relevant to understanding Canadian culture.

Border/lines aims to fill the gap between academic journals and specialist cultural magazines. Our audience is diverse and eclectic; so too are our contributors, drawn from a broad base of writers, cultural producers, and animators. Potential contributors should bear this diversity in mind, and try to address cultural issues with spunk, humour and the occasional sideways glance. For example, we would hope that theoretical debates would be opened up to the intelligent but non-initiated reader.

The magazine contains four sections: "Excursions" deals with specific cultural themes, topics and responses directed towards a non-specialized audience. It does not review books, but attempts to provide contextualized readings of events, objects, and presentations. Length ranges from 100 to 1500 words. "Articles" range from 1500 to 4000 words and include investigative journalism, critical analysis, theory, visual essays and short stories. "Reviews" vary in length according to number of books covered and also include review essays up to 4000 words. "Junctures" presents and debates other magazines, journals, and aspects of radio, television, or video that suggest a magazine format.

All work is paid for if authors are free-lance journalists or scholars without an established, salaried position. Fees vary somewhat from issue to issue, but are at least $50 for short pieces and $100 for long articles. Each contributor will receive three copies of the issue in which their work appeared. It is not possible to provide offprints.

Manuscripts

We welcome new writers, but suggest that potential contributors send an abstract of 200 words before submitting an article. Manuscripts to be considered for publication should be sent to our editorial address:

91 1/2 Stafford Street,
Toronto, Ontario

ML 251

They should be sent in duplicate, typed on one side of the paper, and double-spaced with a wide margin (at least 5 cm). Submissions should be titled, and should include a short biography of Interest to our readers. All correspondence should be accompanied by a stamped return envelope. If your final manuscript has been typed on a word processor, please send us a copy on disk so as to save our typesetter hours of labour.

Illustrations and other visual material

Writers should send illustrative work with their article, or at least indicate how it might fit into the large visual environment of border/lines. Visual artists are also encouraged to submit work. Please carefully consider the reproductive qualities of your submissions, as well as the page proportions of the magazine. All photos should be submitted unmounted as black and white glossy prints (as large as possible), showing good contrast and clear definition of outline. Charts, graphs, drawings and so on should be rendered in black ink on good white paper. Captions, photo credits and return address should be typed on an appended sheet of paper. Final design decisions rest with the collective.

Literature Citations

Footnotes are an oversused convention and we discourage them. Far more accessible would be a short list of references at the end of an article. If you must use footnotes, they should conform to the formats below:

BOOK

Dylan, Robert Z. From Protest to Jesus: Fragment of an Agony.

CHAPTER IN BOOK OF MULTIPLE AUTHORSHIP


THESIS OR DISSERTATION


MAGAZINE OR JOURNAL ARTICLE


Because border/lines is a (non-paid) collective, editing is a slow process. Please expect to wait at least six weeks for a reply if you submit a manuscript. Contributors are automatically contacted about suggested revisions.

DISPLAY ADVERTISING

EIGHTH PAGE: 4 3/8" wide x 3 5/8" deep -- $100
QUARTER PAGE: 4 3/8" wide x 7 1/2" deep -- $175
HALF PAGE: 9" wide x 7 1/2" deep -- $300
FULL PAGE: 9" wide x 15 3/8" deep -- $500

Reduced rates will be given for repeat ads.

To reserve space or for more information contact: (416) 736-8164 ext.2060

border/lines
Bethune College
York University
4700 Keele St.
North York, ON
M3J 1P3 CANADA
The Nature and Context of Minority Discourse
Introduction by Abdul JanMohamed and David Lloyd
Nos. 6 & 7, Spring and Fall

Richard Berg
Fighting the War or Charlie's Other Discourse
Barbara Christian
The Race for Theory
Asif Duraj
Culturalism as Hegemonic Ideology and Liberating Practice
Henry Louis Gates, Jr.
Criticism in the Black Atlantic
Nancy Hartsock
Epistemology and Politics: Minority vs. Majority Theories
Abdul JanMohamed
Domination, Hegemony, and the Modes of Minority Discourse
Ronald J. Judd
The Modern Arab Novel: The Production of the Margin
Caren Kaplan
Deterioration: The Rewriting of Home and Exile in Feminist Minority Discourse
Elaine Kim
Defining Asian-American Realities Through Literature
Joseph Kubayanda
Minority Discourse and the African

Collector: Some Examples from Latin American and Caribbean Literature
David Lloyd
Genet's Genealogies: European Minorities and the Ends of the Canon
Lata Mani
The Construction of Women as Traditions in Early Nineteenth-Century Bengal
Jose Rabasa
Dialogue as Conquest: Mapping Spaces for Counter-Discourse
R. Radhakrishnan
Ethnic Identity and Post-Structuralist Difference
Renato Rosaldo
Politics, Power, and Laughter
Kumkum Sangari
The Politics of the Possible
Logan Sagle
The Native-American Tradition and Legal Status: Toledo Tales and Telaas Places
Sylvia Wyer
Unmasking Discrimination: Minority Literary Criticism and Beyond

Subscriptions: $17.50 per year (plus $3 per year outside U.S.) To Cultural Critique, English Dept., 207 Church St. S.E., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455.
Border/lines is an interdisciplinary magazine about art, culture and social movements. We publish writing from many different positions, and we're open to artists, musicians, filmmakers and readers.

An indispensable companion to contemporary culture in Canada and elsewhere, Border/lines is produced in a large format (which also conveniently doubles as a large fly swatter), and is published four times a year by a Toronto-based collective.

I'm subscribing!

☐ $16.00—individual  ☐ $14.00—low income  ☐ $25.00—institutions for 4 issues. Please sign my subscription with number ______.

Tax deductible donation: ______

Subscription: ______

TOTAL: ______

Please make cheques payable to Borderlines. Outside Canada, please pay in US dollars only. Air mail rates available on request.

NAME: ______

ADDRESS: ______

POSTAL CODE: ______

SEND TO: borderlines, Belvedere College, York University, 4700 Keele Street, Scowden/Ash Oshawa, Ontario, Canada, M3J 1P3.

There's no flies on Border/lines.
THE INTERNATIONAL ART FAIR
FOR 20TH CENTURY ART.
SWISS INDUSTRIES FAIR BASEL.
DAILY FROM 11 A.M. TO 8 P.M.
INFORMATION AND CATALOGUE:
SECRETARIAT ART 18'87, P.O. BOX,
CH-4021 BASEL/SWITZERLAND,
PHONE 061/26 20 20.
VOICES IN THE AIR

Howard Broomfield had big cars. For Howard, radio was more than a medium, it was itself an instrument, a voice, a space where voices could sing where elsewhere they could hardly speak.

Through Howard's craftsmanship at the studios of Co-op Radio in Vancouver, many voices came together to form the magic that only radio can fabricate--a magic that can transport listeners from time to space. Howard committed suicide in the middle of Expo '86. This one is going out for him tonight.

Not the BBC/IBA: The Case for Community Radio
by Simon Partridge

Nothing Local About It: London's Local Radio
Local Radio Workshop

Shut Up and Listen: Women and Local Radio: A View From The Inside
by Helen Bareh and Michelle Ryan

Rebel Radio: The Full Story of British Pirate Radio
by John Hind and Stephen Mosco

From Coast to Coast: A Personal History of Radio in Canada
by Sandy Stewart

What actually happens on radio? More specifically, what is actually broadcast to the listener? All of the books above address these questions. All pay attention to how particular kinds of radio sound, while assuming, and illustrating, that the sounds of radio are structured by the social, economic, legal, and political relationships through which radio speaks. Their arguments over the effect of these relationships on radio are primarily empirical—a critical, interventionist empiricism. The books document interventions in radio practice; they are also themselves interventions in the current dialogue about media uses.

An assumption common to these books is that radio's value needs to be defended against its current practice. It's value is seen to be in the unique ways radio communication defines the parameters of the social. All these books argue that such parameters are extended by emergent senses of locality and community and by the participation of women in program production. These parameters are shrunk by those who refuse to use radio creatively. This last argument occurs in the British books as an accusation against the BBC and in Stewart's book as poignant reminiscence of the old days at the CBC.

Beyond these common approaches, there are differences expressed in these books over how the parameters of radio content (and thus of audience construction) should be mapped. "The social" means one thing for community radio organizers, whose practices stress on increasing the participation of social and community groups in production. It means something else for those animators of pirate radio who rush to import the latest hit records. Pirate radio, ostensibly concerned with evading legal broadcasting restrictions, is often preoccupied with raising the standard of listener/commerical consciousness. It means something different again for Stewart, the historian of Canadian radio, for whom the nation still represents the most desirable site for a community bonded by shared radio programming.

Not the BBC/IBA was published before community radio had achieved even provisional legal status in Britain. Like the other books published by Comedia, Partridge's book is written as a direct intervention in a contemporary, political media debate. Partridge outlines the history of community in Britain and abroad, tracing the political, legal, and social developments that accompanied its emergence between the 1960s and the present. His purpose was to intensify the early 1980s campaign in Britain to license community stations. Since he wrote, it is clear community radio has lost an important battle, if not the war.

By the early 1980s, a number of community radio groups had formed in Britain, but none were licensed to broadcast. Their work was to animate existing community groups (not "audiences," but ethnic or community groups) in production. The Thatcher government squashed the move to license community radio and simply sent the applicants home, despite the heavy economic and political sacrifices such groups had made (by keeping silent, for instance) while preparing their applications. The reason was clear: more or less explicit community radio programming could not be relied on to assist the current government. While Partridge does not spell out this conclusion, he encourages it. His concise history and analysis of the development of community broadcasting in Britain (and other countries) will not yet have lost its usefulness, since its goal, in Britain at least, has not yet been achieved.

Local radio--radio for a local geographic site, rather than for a social community--is called, in Britain, the "third stream" (the first and second streams being public and private broadcasting). Third stream radio is examined in the Local Radio Workshop's (LRW) detailed and uncompromising study of three "local" stations in London. Local radio developed in Britain as an attempt to counteract the centralized and determinedly non-commercial broadcasting style of the BBC. "Local" participation is measured through phone-in shows, features on local personalities, and other such devices. In Nothing Local About It, the LRW replicates and dissect typical interactions between radio hosts or personalities and the listening audience. The interactions are exposed as artificial simulations of open participation. Typical "participation" is shown to be thoroughly pre-structured by program timing, language, response, and interpretation--in blunter words, by manipulating and bullying. The LRW's study of music broadcasting and its accompanying paper is acute and appropriately savage. But while it raises a number of questions about concepts of local radio, it doesn't answer them. Both this book and Not the BBC/IBA contain much practical information for people concerned with the mechanics of radio broadcasting.
In *Shut Up and Listen!* we meet Doreen. "Doreen" is the archetypal character invented by radio programmers to justify the type of programming most often provided for women. In explaining programming decisions, "Doreen" is constantly and uncomplimentarily alluded to: "Doreen isn't stupid, but she's only listening with half an ear, and she doesn't necessarily understand 'long words'..." *Shut Up* is the most specific of the growing number of demographic mythologies (in this case, the housewife) to appear in recent print. The book is an account of the experiences of several women in organizing as a collective to produce radio programming inside a "local" station in Cardiff, the Cardiff Broadcasting Company. Their task was to actively counter the dominant image of women listeners as passive, domestic, and isolated. The authors document this process through a week-by-week chronicle of program development, which encouraged women's participation through programs on health, childcare, new technology, and other issues. The book includes a study of radio advertising, a discussion of useful program content, and a review of political, legal, social, and cultural issues relevant to the struggle for increased community access to radio.

*Rebel Radio* is also dedicated to the cause of increased access to radio. Hind and Mosco begin with a "potted history of pirate radio," demonstrating their romantic zeal by starting the story with Marconi. Theirs is a maverick approach to radio: equally enthusiastic about programs dedicated to Jamaican music, "People Against Marxism" (*Radio Enoch, from Coventry*), and the large number of ethnic communities who have saturated London's airwaves in recent years. Many of the pirate groups have been primarily concerned with ensuring access to a particular musical style; some with the economic advantage of circumventing British broadcasting policy's advertising restriction; others with representing the political views of peace groups, gays, and other activists. *Rebel Radio* is a rich and varied read, with extensive interviews and participant's accounts. The authors argue against the imposition of value judgments or any other form of restriction on access. Their sympathy for pirate radio is rooted in a lively pluralism, and in the insistence that listeners should have access to a wide range of programming choices.

*Rebel Radio* willingly explores the many conflicts between the groups involved--conflicts over representation (who most validly represents the interests of the Greek community in London?), interference (pirate broadcasters may just as easily interfere with each other's airwaves as anyone else's), copyright and other legal issues (the Musicians' Union, for instance, is unhappy about the loss of fees from pirates), and the role of advertising (the mainstay of the larger, commercial pirate stations who specialize in pop music). Pirate broadcasters of every culture and ideological stripe are allowed to speak for themselves in this book. They offer a vivid sense of the frolics, risks, ambitions, and obstacles encountered by outlaw radio. The book includes appendices on the law and on technical procedures for prospective pirates.

Stewart's book *From Coast to Coast* reflects an urgent need to capture a history of CBC Radio that has threatened to fade as fast as CBC itself. Although the recent birthday celebrations stimulated all sorts of radio reminiscences, Stewart's book stands alone as a document of radio programs, personalities, techniques, and achievements over the past half-century.

*From Coast to Coast* has a lot of pictures. They show people dressing to the nines to make a studio appearance: the Happy Gang in all their glory, singers, family dramas, teen dances, symphony orchestras, big bands, mining disasters, and all sorts of radio personalities, including that most photogenic of people, Glen Gould. It's ironic, somehow, that these pictures work so effectively in communicating the magic that is radio broadcasting.

Stewart's text is detailed, personable, gossip-y, infectious. It's also very moving. The story charges ahead through a medley of chronicles and anecdotes whose aura counteracts the accompanying theme of betrayal and decline. There have been plenty of books about broadcasting in Canada, but hardly any that talk in such detail about the people who produced it. It gives a human face to the CBC as a social construction, a creation, a collective work of art, if you like. The lengthy love affair with radio documented by Stewart is full of joyous, determined, punchy creativity and collaborative enthusiasm—and even risk-taking—which even now refuses to be stilled by the baboon of privatization and cut-backs that threatens to submerge public discourse in the scrabble for an exportable cultural economy. There is no lack of present evidence for such stubbornness, fortunately. Those of you interested in our own magical and, I hope, not-so-transient radio history will find this chronicle a likeable feast.


Judy Berland is a member of the Borderlines collective and teaches in the Mass Communication Program at Carleton University.
The Land Called Morning: Three Plays
Saskatoon, Fifth House, 1986

I can't help but think of the scream/cry of "Teach Me the Ways..." in the fall of 1986. The play company of Jessica, anguished scream of frustration, rage of despair, a scream that the takes inside of herself, a scream that cuts together the fragments of Jessica's lives, a scream that emerges as a cry of self-renewal and self-determination. Somewhere, halfway between scream and cry, caught in the guts and the throat and embodying both the frustration and renewal, lie the three plays in The Land Called Morning and perhaps the state of Native theatre and Native culture itself in Canada at the present.

Native theatre seems to be in the midst of a revival of sorts. As in the case of most artistic movements, it seems to sneak up on us, our realization that it exists usually coinciding with its imminent demise. We can only hope that in this case we are raising a youthful artistic presence: both its promise and its necessity are profound. Revival is an apt metaphor since, as we are reminded in the prologue, "Teach Me the Ways..." takes place in a city, "Gabrielle" in a metis community and "The Land Called Morning" in a reserve. This already speaks to the separate concerns of each: the first to the question of maintaining Native identity in the nation state, the second to the struggle against economic imperialism, the third to the personal struggle against despair. Of at least equivalent significance, though, is the particular use of place within each story. For example, the story 'Teach Me the Ways...' ends with 'the great man toff half of the tree trunk and placed Granya inside, and then he ended up the tree again. And that tree, that ancient tree, is still standing in our oldest village site.' What distinguishes the Native concern for place from regionalism is precisely the way in which the is inscribed with this kind of historical/mythical meaning. The dramatic tension in this play stems from Matt's sense that they are related to the land, and that the two are intertwined. This is not a discussion of blockade as political activity: Teach Me We the ways... are dream sequences. Both of them involve Matt in dialogue with an elder, in the first case his grandfather in the second his grandmother. Similarly, a good deal of "Gabrielle" involves the dialogue of Louis Riel in what may or may not be taken to be dream sequences. In 'The Land Called Morning' the dreams are less a part of the overall narrative, than what is perhaps the central scene of the play is taken up in large part with the time that is described of a dream. Dreams are important in these plays because they allow for a direct expression of the spiritual component of Native culture. They also allow for the past—the guilt of elders or leaders or mythical figures—to speak directly to the present. Significantly in "Gabrielle," as in "Jessica," the status of the dream figure is uncertain. Riel seems to exist, like the mythical figures in "Jessica," simply on another spiritual plane. What we should not lose sight of is the way in which these dreams or spirits are used to bring Native tradition, culture and history to life and give them a voice with which to guide Native people today.

The setting of, or, rather, the use of place in each of these plays also deserves our attention. "Teach Me the Ways..." takes place in a city, "Gabrielle" in a metis community and "The Land Called Morning" in a reserve. This already speaks to the separate concerns of each: the first to the question of maintaining Native identity in the nation state, the second to the struggle against economic imperialism, the third to the personal struggle against despair. Of at least equal significance, though, is the particular use of place within each story. For example, the story 'Teach Me the Ways...' ends with 'the great man toff half of the tree trunk and placed Granya inside, and then he ended up the tree again. And that tree, that ancient tree, is still standing in our oldest village site.' What distinguishes the Native concern for place from regionalism is precisely the way in which the is inscribed with this kind of historical/mythical meaning. The dramatic tension in this play stems from Matt's sense that they are related to the land, and that the two are intertwined. This is not a discussion of blockade as political activity: Teach Me We the ways... are dream sequences. Both of them involve Matt in dialogue with an elder, in the first case his grandfather in the second his grandmother. Similarly, a good deal of "Gabrielle" involves the dialogue of Louis Riel in what may or may not be taken to be dream sequences. In 'The Land Called Morning' the dreams are less a part of the overall narrative, than what is perhaps the central scene of the play is taken up in large part with the time that is described of a dream. Dreams are important in these plays because they allow for a direct expression of the spiritual component of Native culture. They also allow for the past—the guilt of elders or leaders or mythical figures—to speak directly to the present. Significantly in "Gabrielle," as in "Jessica," the status of the dream figure is uncertain. Riel seems to exist, like the mythical figures in "Jessica," simply on another spiritual plane. What we should not lose sight of is the way in which these dreams or spirits are used to bring Native tradition, culture and history to life and give them a voice with which to guide Native people today.

The setting of, or, rather, the use of place in each of these plays also deserves our attention. "Teach Me the Ways..." takes place in a city, "Gabrielle" in a metis community and "The Land Called Morning" in a reserve. This already speaks to the separate concerns of each: the first to the question of maintaining Native identity in the nation state, the second to the struggle against economic imperialism, the third to the personal struggle against despair. Of at least equal significance, though, is the particular use of place within each story. For example, the story 'Teach Me the Ways...' ends with 'the great man toff half of the tree trunk and placed Granya inside, and then he ended up the tree again. And that tree, that ancient tree, is still standing in our oldest village site.' What distinguishes the Native concern for place from regionalism is precisely the way in which the is inscribed with this kind of historical/mythical meaning. The dramatic tension in this play stems from Matt's sense that they are related to the land, and that the two are intertwined. This is not a discussion of blockade as political activity: Teach Me We the ways... are dream sequences. Both of them involve Matt in dialogue with an elder, in the first case his grandfather in the second his grandmother. Similarly, a good deal of "Gabrielle" involves the dialogue of Louis Riel in what may or may not be taken to be dream sequences. In 'The Land Called Morning' the dreams are less a part of the overall narrative, than what is perhaps the central scene of the play is taken up in large part with the time that is described of a dream. Dreams are important in these plays because they allow for a direct expression of the spiritual component of Native culture. They also allow for the past—the guilt of elders or leaders or mythical figures—to speak directly to the present. Significantly in "Gabrielle," as in "Jessica," the status of the dream figure is uncertain. Riel seems to exist, like the mythical figures in "Jessica," simply on another spiritual plane. What we should not lose sight of is the way in which these dreams or spirits are used to bring Native tradition, culture and history to life and give them a voice with which to guide Native people today.

The setting of, or, rather, the use of place in each of these plays also deserves our attention. "Teach Me the Ways..." takes place in a city, "Gabrielle" in a metis community and "The Land Called Morning" in a reserve. This already speaks to the separate concerns of each: the first to the question of maintaining Native identity in the nation state, the second to the struggle against economic imperialism, the third to the personal struggle against despair. Of at least equal significance, though, is the particular use of place within each story. For example, the story 'Teach Me the Ways...' ends with 'the great man toff half of the tree trunk and placed Granya inside, and then he ended up the tree again. And that tree, that ancient tree, is still standing in our oldest village site.' What distinguishes the Native concern for place from regionalism is precisely the way in which the is inscribed with this kind of historical/mythical meaning. The dramatic tension in this play stems from Matt's sense that they are related to the land, and that the two are intertwined. This is not a discussion of blockade as political activity: Teach Me We the ways... are dream sequences. Both of them involve Matt in dialogue with an elder, in the first case his grandfather in the second his grandmother. Similarly, a good deal of "Gabrielle" involves the dialogue of Louis Riel in what may or may not be taken to be dream sequences. In 'The Land Called Morning' the dreams are less a part of the overall narrative, than what is perhaps the central scene of the play is taken up in large part with the time that is described of a dream. Dreams are important in these plays because they allow for a direct expression of the spiritual component of Native culture. They also allow for the past—the guilt of elders or leaders or mythical figures—to speak directly to the present. Significantly in "Gabrielle," as in "Jessica," the status of the dream figure is uncertain. Riel seems to exist, like the mythical figures in "Jessica," simply on another spiritual plane. What we should not lose sight of is the way in which these dreams or spirits are used to bring Native tradition, culture and history to life and give them a voice with which to guide Native people today.

The setting of, or, rather, the use of place in each of these plays also deserves our attention. "Teach Me the Ways..." takes place in a city, "Gabrielle" in a metis community and "The Land Called Morning" in a reserve. This already speaks to the separate concerns of each: the first to the question of maintaining Native identity in the nation state, the second to the struggle against economic imperialism, the third to the personal struggle against despair. Of at least equal significance, though, is the particular use of place within each story. For example, the story 'Teach Me the Ways...' ends with 'the great man toff half of the tree trunk and placed Granya inside, and then he ended up the tree again. And that tree, that ancient tree, is still standing in our oldest village site.' What distinguishes the Native concern for place from regionalism is precisely the way in which the is inscribed with this kind of historical/mythical meaning. The dramatic tension in this play stems from Matt's sense that they are related to the land, and that the two are intertwined. This is not a discussion of blockade as political activity: Teach Me We the ways... are dream sequences. Both of them involve Matt in dialogue with an elder, in the first case his grandfather in the second his grandmother. Similarly, a good deal of "Gabrielle" involves the dialogue of Louis Riel in what may or may not be taken to be dream sequences. In 'The Land Called Morning' the dreams are less a part of the overall narrative, than what is perhaps the central scene of the play is taken up in large part with the time that is described of a dream. Dreams are important in these plays because they allow for a direct expression of the spiritual component of Native culture. They also allow for the past—the guilt of elders or leaders or mythical figures—to speak directly to the present. Significantly in "Gabrielle," as in "Jessica," the status of the dream figure is uncertain. Riel seems to exist, like the mythical figures in "Jessica," simply on another spiritual plane. What we should not lose sight of is the way in which these dreams or spirits are used to bring Native tradition, culture and history to life and give them a voice with which to guide Native people today.
This use of local place names is important. For a moment, in this play, Ile-l'Isle-a-Croix is its own center. It is not marginal. For a moment its place names—and not just the names but the specific features of each place (the fact that there areitches at the forks)—are important, are the staff of history, of mythology. It represents the utilization of the margin to reinscribe itself, reinsert its specificity, against the totalizing force of the center.

One of the most interesting features of these plays is their use of Native language. In the best of these plays we can hear the grain of a collective Native voice that speaks its experience. "Gabrielle" marks a significant advance in this regard. Much of the play is written in Cree (translations are provided in the published text). As important are those passages that bring phrases, expressions, small bits of the Native subversions of English to us: as in the use of that particular all encompassing "Aha!" that brings northern Manitoba back to me. Much of the written text of these plays is stilted and does not convey the sense, but where it does—and "Gabrielle" is a particularly good example—we are afforded a rare pleasure not to be taken lightly.

The other way these plays express a specific Native voice is through their use of Native culture, particularly music. Both "Teach Me the Ways..." and "The Land Called Morning" end with traditional drumming. "Gabrielle" ends with a song, and unlike "The Ecology of Place" it is one which serves to affirm the play's political message, "Teach Me the Ways..." is a particularly interesting example. The first conflict between Native and non-Native culture in this play is expressed musically when Sam plays a traditional drum song for Matt:

The drum is a circle
The circle is life
Life begins, life ends,
Then it begins again
Like the drum
It begins again.

The drum is the heartbeat
Heartbeat of our Nation
The drum is ancient
The drum is the heartbeat
The heartbeat is living
And it's me and it's you...

This is as good an articulation of the "meaning" of the drum song/dance as one could find. The play uses music, dance, legends and clothes to convey Native culture. Along with the bits of Native language these form a whole that we can call the Native voice. Native theatre, then, can be seen as the dramatic expression of Native voice.

For this reason the play "The Land Called Morning" needs to be called into question. Unlike the other plays in the volume and other Native plays it does not deal with the specifically Native experience. The characters in the play are strongly drawn, probably more so than those in "Gabrielle" and "Teach Me the Ways..." However, it makes little use of Cree culture: the most significant cultural referent in the play is Emily Dickenson, whose poems are read by Anne. A more serious problem is the fact that "success" in the play's terms is equated with Robin's boxing career and trip to the Korean Olympics while failure is associated with staying in Montreal Lake. Success is therefore tied to escape and a non-Native career and lifestyle. While as a message of hope and despair the play makes a powerful statement and one that is important to Native people (as it is to all of us), the characters could easily be non-Natives, the setting any small, isolated community. That may be the intent, to illustrate to Natives and to non-Natives how their lives are not so different as they might assume. In a climate where assimilation is one of the foremost forces Native people struggle against, such an approach is misguided.

That a Native theatre is emerging/reviving with its own characteristics is a cultural development of profound significance for Canada. The identity and integrity of the country as a whole rests in large part upon the place of Native people and Native culture in it; rest, that is, on the place of the marginalized, disadvantaged and discriminated against amongst us. The plays in The Land Called Morning are not without their weaknesses but inasmuch as they bring the Native voice to us they should not be ignored. The screams of Rita Joe will turn to the cry of Jessica, of Gabrielle, of Matt: "The drum is a circle/like circle is life..."

Peter Kulchyski is a graduate student in Political Science at York University in Toronto, and is reading and writing about Native Canadian Culture and Politics.

If Freud had been a woman, chances are the words "creation envy" would have replaced "penis envy" in the annals of psychoanalysis. Since the earliest known times men have attempted to compensate for their inability to give birth in some weird and wonderful ways. From ancient times right into the twentieth century, men on almost all continents have practiced castrade (from the French word to hack) when their women gave birth. The custom involved the father simulating symptoms of labour and childbirth. In its extreme forms, the mother returned to her work as soon as possible giving birth—often the same day, and waited on the father, who remained in bed. In medieval times, alchemists tried to create life independent of women by combining such ingredients such as boy's urine, blood and sperm. And early scientists and philosophers believed that the sperm itself contained a tiny man, or homunculus, and that the woman's womb was merely a vessel in which that life grew.

But alas, these ideas proved to be merely wishful thinking. Men learned that they contribute 23 chromosomes to the creation of life and little else. Faced with this discovery men might have despised, but modern science came to the rescue, and offered them new hope for fulfilling their creation envy. First came medicine and the male takeover of childbirth, and more recently came the new reproductive technologies. Through procedures like artificial insemination, In Vitro Fertilization (IVF), and embryo transfer, male technicians have been able to usurp women's procreative powers more fully than ever before. And future breakthroughs which are now in the research stages, such as artificial wombs, cloning, and yes—even male pregnancy, promise to extend this control still further.

In her hard-hitting book, The Mother Machine, Cena Corea documents the awesome consequences for women of this takeover. She explodes the myth, widely promulgated by the mass media, that the technologies offer new hope for the infertile. While this myth is extremely seductive for couples who have suffered years of infertility, Corea argues that for the majority of women, the technologies actually bring new despair. At the best IVF clinics, only three out of ten women become pregnant, and of those, close to one third miscarry. Commercial embryo transfer clinics have recently opened in the United States on the basis of only two experimental successes. Nevertheless, the low success rates of these procedures are played down, and the hope is played up.
Corea argues that before the reproductive technologies, a woman could at some point come to terms with her infertility and go on with her life. Now, there’s no easy way off the medical treadmill. As long as the technology is there, the infertile woman can tell herself, “Just one more time.” Private clinics, which have no incentive to limit the number of times a woman goes through the procedure, sometimes encourage this attitude. In the waiting room of one IVF clinic in Norfolk, Virginia, is a picture of a soaring bird with the message “you never fail until you stop trying.”

In my own research, while I was producing a radio documentary for CBC’s Ideas, I spoke to a number of infertile women who admitted to wishing that the programs didn’t exist. One woman in her fourth attempt at IVF told me of the excruciating ups and downs women suffer, and how they feel they’re on a roller coaster of heightened expectations and dashed hopes. Hopes are raised when a woman is accepted into the program, dashed when the doctor can’t get an egg. Raised again when he gets an egg, dashed when it doesn’t fertilize or cleave properly. Raised again when he gets an embryo and transplants it into her uterus, dashed when it doesn’t implant or she miscarries.

In the process, women are reduced to passive receptacles as doctors manipulate their reproductive cycles through a stunning array of drugs, hormones, blood tests, ultra sound readings and surgical procedures. In fact, women are made to passive through the process that it is extraordinarily difficult to find women in the program who were willing to speak publicly about their experiences. They are told by their nurses and doctors not to talk to the media, and by and large, they comply. They’re dependent on the good will of their doctors to make them pregnant, and they fear that expressing any kind of problem will jeopardize their chances.

Of course, for the women who do give birth, the reproductive technologies are indeed a boon. But Koren argues that the priorities of a medical system that focuses on heroic medical treatments rather than the prevention of infertility are seriously skewed.

The incidence of infertility has more than doubled in North America in the last twenty years. Yet the causes of infertility have never been thoroughly investigated. Researchers know that the IUD, certain drugs and venereal disease all contribute to the rising rates of infertility in women. They also suspect that environmental and workplace hazards have contributed to infertility in both sexes, but so far, no good epidemiological studies have been done to verify this, and little action has been taken to remedy the situation.

To Corea, this is no surprise. She makes clear the medicine is another means for men to control the patriarchal culture that produces it. As a consequence, she believes that reproductive technology increases already strong tendencies in medicine to objectify and dominate women. "The technology is male generated," she writes, "and buttresses male power over women."

Moreover, she argues that in the interests of patriarchy, the technology reduces women to matrons. "Just as the patriarchal state finds it acceptable to market parts of a woman’s body (breasts, vagina, buttocks) for sexual purposes in prostitution and the larger sex industry, so it will soon find it reasonable to market other parts of women (womb, ovaries, and eggs) for reproductive purposes."

Already, the reproductive industry is offering womb banks for rent, and fresh and frozen embryos for sale.

Coren’s words are strong and uncompromising, and her stance has raised the backs of her critics. Advocates of new technologies argue that they do bring women new options and choices, but for Koren, choice is invalidated in a society where serious differences in power and authority exist between the sexes.

Besides, those who put their trust in reproductive technology seem to be suffering from a form of amnesia. The new reproductive technologies are an extension of the same medical system that brought women DSS, the pill, IUDs, unnecessary hysterectomies and cesarian sections. In the light of this history, there is no reason to believe that reproductive technology is any more benign or woman-centered than earlier technologies.

The Mother Machine is a brave and bold book—well written and well researched. It is especially important at a time when reproductive technology and its commercial exploitation are proceeding more rapidly than our moral, legal and ethical frameworks for dealing with it. If there is a weakness in The Mother Machine, it is its failure to stand back from the issue of women and technology, and examine the nature of science itself. The attempts to reduce woman to her component parts, and to control her reproductive system are a natural outgrowth of a reductionist science which attempts to control and dominate all of nature. As some point we have to ask whether this sort of reductionism doesn’t reduce the value of life itself—for both women and men.

Jill Eilen is a producer at CBC


Deep Ecology

I know it’s wrong, but I tend to judge a book by its cover, or at least by the blurb. I read the mother’s bio first, to see what they say about themselves, and then the acknowledgments, to see who their friends are. I confess, therefore, to a certain bias, having read that Dave Foreman is a "river runner, backpacker, birdwatcher and bowhunter." Michael Tobias, "writingsmountaineer filmmaker" with credits like After Eden and History, Ecology & Conscience, and that Messrs Devall and Sessions are avid backpackers, rock climbers and students of eastern and aboriginal philosophies.

There is of course nothing wrong in these laudable undertakings. Environmentalism is everything you’d expect from a lively political movement: earnest, unskimped, evangelical, pretentious and potentious, in turn silly, sentimental and serious. But it’s been around for quite a while. It is time for deeper consideration of the issues. Another set of readings on the environment, another plea to save this or that, another attack on the evils of industrialism just won’t do. We’ve heard it all before and truth to tell it’s becoming a bore. Neil Everingham is the odd one out in this crowd and not simply because he’s a quiet Canadian. He presents a clear, cogent line of reasoning. His is not an easy book, but the cumulative effect is dramatic and immediate. After reading The Natural Alien, you understand as well as appreciate the contradiction in wanting to preserve nature while shooting at it with arrows and lenses, or tossing wildness while tramping all over it. This book is a must for any serious student of environmental issues.
It's not that I don't like or appreciate the other offerings. Who hasn't felt the tug of valor in making an environmental film in recent years? It's more a sense that they are leading nowhere and in the process alienating those whose support they seek.

Dave Foreman has written an entertaining handbook for "ecotourists" that offers an assortment of tactics for disrupting the enemies of the environment. We all damn the developers from time to time. On the other hand one cannot but have reservations when, along with hooligan disclaimers about these detailed tactics being "for entertainment purposes only!", the author announces that "two good friends—Mr. Smith and Mr. Weston—are our security agents." Had he read his Everdnen, Mr. Foreman might have thought twice about subtitling his handbook "monkey" wenching.

The two offerings on deep ecology are equally unsettling. Part of it is the subject itself. There is no generally accepted or precise definition of deep ecology. It is more a philosophical treatment of the issue, concerned with preservation rather than conservation. The extent that it is possible at all, deep ecologists are committed to developing a non-anthropo-cenocentric approach to the environment.

Definitions aside, I confess to some bias against the incoherence of the cafeteria collection of essays. And it doesn't help much when Michael Tobias starts off with a silly sentence asserting that "There was never a time when human beings did not appreciate the natural world, painfully aware of their own paradoxical position within it." That's simply wrong. There are some good essays in the collection, but they don't add up to anything. I would rather read the better writers at greater length than struggle to figure out what is deeply ecological about this particular grouping that's all over the map, geographically, philosophically and emotionally.

Devald's and Sessions' book Deep Ecology is also fragmentary and frustrating. It's hard to disagree with the desire to improve the quality of life rather than raise the material standard of living, but what does this mean or imply? When the authors state that "the value of ecology tends to value things because they are scarce and because they have a commodity value" or later that "one cannot quantify adequately what is important for the quality of life, and there is no need to do so," the reader is left wondering what to do next.

The trouble is too much generalizing about an issue that cries out for deeper reflection. This is what deep ecology is all about. Environmental issues have become part of the plurality of political contention. Political parties, public interest groups and government ministries promote protection of the environment, but against whom and for what ends? There is a restlessness abroad among those most committed to the movement. There is a sense of deep unease, of unresolved issues that go beyond conventional criticism of the industrial imperative or capitalist acquisitiveness. It is precisely this nagging feeling about environmentalism that Everdnen addresses.

The Natural Alien is both analysis and allegory. It's best read as poetry and preferably in one sitting. The book is an appeal to "the pervasity of truth instead of the complicity of agreement," a plea for the reality of experience over the certainty of ideology.

Evenden's world is populated by subjects. "The loss of intimacy and immediacy entailed in our achievement of modernity," he says, "could with some justification be cited as the major motivation for the environmental movement throughout its long history." He rejects conventional industrial imagery that sees life as an amalgam of problems and solutions, a series of obstacles to be overcome or questions to be resolved.

It is not subjects and objects that constitute the world, but relationships. We have become prisoners of "detail perception" at the expense of "meaning perception." We have forgotten or ignored the fact that subjects do not "have" a world view—they are a world view. "Individualism is the religion of solitude," says Evenden. "It is easier to live alone than to learn the constraints and obligations of community life... Only the presence of eternal strangers, whom shame cannot restrain, makes possible the unbroken reign of objectivity in which we pride ourselves."

We are able to manipulate and desecrate nature by objectification, by creating an "us-it" relationship with everything non-human. Nature as object has no intrinsic value. Without value it has no meaning. As with nature, so with humanity. Everdnen's plea to re-assert subjectiveness is an appeal to be there, to celebrate the interaction of subjects, to comply and communicate. As such, it has much more in common with aboriginal than industrial society.
Noise: The Political Economy of Music
by Jacques Attali
Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1985

First published in France in 1977, Noise is available for the first time in English as part of the University of Minnesota Press series, Theory and History of Literature, a collection of writings pertinent to current literary and cultural criticism.

As a professor of economic theory at the University of Paris, and a special counselor to President François Mitterrand, Attali's approach immediately diverges from critical theory's insistence that music be understood as simply "reflecting" or following in the wake of social development. In positing the opposite, Attali brings fresh insights to a critical analysis of music's social role.

His theoretical and philosophical diversions commence with the noises which have constantly accompanied our work and play; the chaos this random organization provides is to an understanding of our social nature and the relationship of noise to the exercise of power.

Music is essentially a herald, indicative of approaching changes in the social forces of production. It has arisen out of historical attempts to shape the natural and social sounds which have been humanity's collective experience of the world. In delineating the development of the political economy of music as four codes or "networks," that of sacrifice, representation, repetition and composition, Attali confirms this function. His networks can be seen as modes of distribution in which the social role of music serves as both social integrator and also as harbinger of subversion. Music has always had a twin element inherent to its character and Attali's argument does not overlook this.

The author succeeds in examining each of these successive stages from the standpoint of music's relationship to changing political economies, providing a commentary that moves between historical detail—the jongleurs, position in French society, their evolution into the musettes with the development of capitalism—and his own metamorphic mélange of post-structuralist discourses.

The point of departure for Attali's thesis, the framework through which the networks of musical distribution are discussed and assessed, is contained in a meditation on Bruhgel's great painting "Carnival of Brussels with Lents." The images, the conflicts with polarities depicted here, and the author's interpretation of a "jugar" (Carnival and a "capitalist") Lents, in fact serve as a meditation through which the changing character of music's relationship to the politico-economic application of power is examined.

Bruhgel's painting as a tableau for our apprehension of a changing political economy of music is, mostly, daringly effective. Occasionally it is, as well, exceedingly oblique.

In the sacrificial stage, noise was heard in all places of labour and was a daily feature of life. Crucially, however, music had a ritual aspect which led to its operation as a simulacrum of the social sacrifice of a scapegoat. Attali's accounting clearly demonstrates that music's role as a social integrator was the reconciliation of people to social order and, equally, to efface memory, to make people forget the general violence with which they were surrounded. Simultaneously, it served to stir revolt, fuel passion and subversion, in the expression of the festival spirit signifying humanity's freedom.

A conflict between two social orders—Carnival and Lent, Festival and Austerity, two relations to power—is revealed through Attali's rendering of Bruhgel's masterpiece.

"But Brueghel, in his meditation on the possible forms of noise, could not have failed to hear how they hinged on systems of power. He thus outlined everything it was possible to outline; he showed that we must not read into the painting a meaning of history; that we must use it instead to listen to music, which creates a ritual order, then is represented as a simulacrum of order, finally passes over to the side of Lent and is sold like fish, compulsory nourishment (p.23)."

In the stage of "representation," music has become spectacle, attended at specific places. While in the earlier, sacrificial stage it did not generate wealth, here the musicians have become producers, enrolled in a division of labour. In this period the monarchy's exclusive possession of musical performances at court was eventually superseded by the rise of a merchant bourgeoisie, which purchased outright the performing rights of the musicians. Musicians ceased to be itinerant performers in village festivals to become the man-servants of royalty; later they no longer performed exclusively for their lord and master but for many clients, who now purchased a non-exclusive commodity. As representation, music served to enforce belief in the order and harmony newly established by mercantile power.

Attali's stages in the history of music's political economy, it should be noted, are not presented as fixed, immutable categories on rigid as new dogmas of musicallogic canons. The overlapping nature of these networks is such that the uneven development of music's distribution becomes a succession of "orders," each violated by noises prophetic of a nascent order carried within the old. This analysis is always a refreshing break from the formalistic theories and notions of genius these inevitably divorced from the social and political realities behind them.

The advent of the ability to record sound, the repetition of the object in mass production, eclipsed music's representational function from within.

This stage of "repetition" encompasses our own era. It contains some of the more trenchant observations on music's position in a technocratic capitalism to have been advanced in some time (excepting selected writings on the social role of music in commodity culture by British music critic, Simon Frith).

Attali states that changes in musical production announced in the process of repetition constitute a whole new stage in political economy, a significant "mutation" of man's relationship to history. Quite accurately, the main efforts of production are seen as no longer inherent to the creation of an object, but as occurring outside it, residing chiefly in the creation and recreation of a demand for the replica. In Attali's framework this is a herald of anonymity, of non-differentiation, and finally of death.

"For death, more generally, is present in the very structure of the repetitive economy: the stockpiling of use-value in the commodity object is fundamentally a herald of death. In effect, transforming use-value into a stockplicable object makes it possible to sell and stockpile rights to usage without actually using anything, to exchange ad infinitum without extracting pleasure from the object, without experiencing its function (p.126)."

The author's final stage of development, "compostition," is meant to demonstrate future possibilities inherent within the subversive element always present in music—the emancipatory side which is presently being silenced in the anonymity of commodity culture's repetitive circus. Composition concerns our potential ability to compose music that is a response to this enforced silence, an entry into communication and political practice.
"Today, in embryonic form, beyond rebellion, lies the kernel of a new music, a fourth kind of musical practice. It heralds the arrival of new social relations. Music is becoming composition (p. 20)."

This brief, final chapter sheds much light on one of Attali's introductory assertions that "this book is not theorizing about music, but through music." Following well-documented historical observations and penetrating analyses of music's role in our epoch, his stage of composition has all the romantic idealism of a retrospective attempt to re-establish an age of lost innocence. Is Jacques Attali, born in 1943, still enthralled by the "unfinished dream" of the 60s?

This is not a mere anti-sixties slam. Except for some comments on jazz, Attali at no point shows any indication that the popular music of the post-sixties period is anything but the natural outcome of the age of repetition. Repetitive and meaningless noise. "Jimmy" (some things are always lost in translation, like freedom, love, joy, etc.) all serve as exemplars of an era when the compositional or subversive element in music was at its height.

While that historical period may be much of what Attali claims for it, the relationship of politics to music (of a political awareness and response to the commodification of music) has undergone considerable positive change in the intervening twenty years. Today—in Third World musical influences, critical voices from punk to pop, and musicians' responses to political issues apart from the elimination of farmhand by Agri-bureaucracy—the compositional nature of music is finding expression in areas Attali disregards or views as mere noise, providing further demonstration that the imposed silence of the well-sided machinery of repetition is indeed doing its job well.

Throughout the book, Attali's prose is often a mix of apostrophe rhetoric combined with metaphorical flourishes. This trans-coding is accomplished in an ecstatic post-modern style, which transforms theory from brittle polemics to an associative exercise in establishing connections between one set of provocative ideas and another. As earlier stated, this makes for fascinating but always difficult reading. Parlaying the thesis on music's twin role as social integrator and subverter, Attali's language also operates on two levels. Often where his analysis falls for precision, apostrophe polarities are substituted, reducing much of the thrust of his argument to the ethereal, utopian postulates.

The final chapter raises a necessary, evaluative, question: has this entire book all been "noise signifying nothing"? Well not quite. Despite its tendency to implode toward the end, Attali's work stands out as an adventuresome analysis of the political economy of music. Its challenge to calculated critical thinking is undeniable. It can only reinvigorate discussion on the connections between political power, ideology and the role of music in the current cyberspace phase of capitalism's twilight years.

It is out of such explorations as Attali's that the collective freedom to compose may gain a stronger political articulation.

James Dennis Corcoran is working on a book about the jazz scene in Toronto in the 1950s.

CANADIAN BROADCASTING: A WORKING BIBLIOGRAPHY (1.100.00 PER CDP)

Designed as a tool for those interested in the present and past debates on broadcasting policy, the bibliography comprises English language writings on the Canadian broadcasting system. It addresses both programming and distribution, and includes books, magazine articles, and scholarly texts, as well as government documents on the technological and the cultural aspects of broadcasting. Over 900 entries are included, organized into 56 major keyword areas, as well as an alphabetical author index.

MEDIA, PEACE AND SECURITY: A WORKING BIBLIOGRAPHY (1.000.00 PER CDP)

This bibliography is designed to set the investigation of the relationship between the work of the media media and the construction of international peace and security in public, political problems and social causes. The texts listed in this bibliography are selected to help the reader understand the industrial structures of the mass media, their relevance to the reporting of the partisan issues, and the dominant ways in which entertainment, peace and security issues are reported by the media. Some 400 titles are catalogued in this bibliography, including books, magazine articles, scholarly works and conference papers.

ARMS CONTROL AND THE MEDIA (1.000.00 PER CDP)

The discussions on how the media covers issues of arms control, disarmament and security hold to "democracy" between state statements and political judgments. This text provides the empirical data required through a comprehensive study undertaken by the Centre over a one-month period. It examines the news media's coverage of arms issues, superpower armies, arms negotiations, and the arms race in Latin America. English editions across Canada.

Each section starts with a brief summary of the issues as they were reported, followed by a more detailed bibliographic study. Included are quantitative data regarding the distribution of coverage, percentage and extent of the coverage. The analysis of main story vectors, institutional sources, and dominant themes concludes the presentation of findings.

To place orders, please write to:
THE CENTRE FOR COMMUNICATION, CULTURE AND SOCIETY CARLETON UNIVERSITY OTTAWA, ONTARIO K1S 5B6

59
A listing of academic, political and cultural events.

POLITICAL AND CULTURAL EVENTS

ASIAN NEW WORLD — Vancouver, June. The Video Art is organizing a major video exhibition to take place in Vancouver during the Asia Pacific Festival. Focus will be on the works of Asian video artists and independent media producers living and working in the region. Contact Video Art, 1160 Hamilton St, Vancouver, BC, V6B 2S5. (604)688-4333.

PRAIRIE RENDEZVOUS VIDEOFESTIVAL ’87 — on the South Saskatchewan Riverbank in Saskatoon, July 5-25. Write the Prairie Media Co-op, 4935 1st Street West, Saskatoon, SK, 37K 0X3. (306)665-3500.

TRENT INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF POPULAR CULTURE (TISP) — Peterborough, The Trent Institute for the Study of Popular Culture, an archive based research centre with a focus on post New York American media development, seeks donations of magazines, music, and video tapes. Send to Trent Institute for the Study of Popular Culture, c/o Box 153, Peterborough College, Trent University, Peterborough, ON, K9J 7B8.

INDEXDIRECTORY OF WOMEN’S MEDIA — The Index/Directory provides a network of existing women’s media, ideas and women have an upper level interest in the communications technologies and media, and encourages the exchange of ideas and information among women nationally and internationally. The directory is available for $12 from the Women’s Institute for Freedom of the Press (WIFP), 1240 Ross Place NW, Washington, DC, 20008. (202)666-7765.


ENVIRONMENT WEEK — 1-7 June. In honour of World Environment Day (3 June), Environment Canada is sponsoring a Canada-wide Environment Week. Special media programs and promotional materials will be made available. Public meetings will be held in conjunction with extending the Environment Assessment Act to the private sector. The goal is to organize activities which will stimulate long-term popular interest in the environment movement. Contact your regional office of Environment Canada, or your local environmental group.


ANIMAL LIBERATION FRONT (ALF) — Toronto. For the past several months ALF non-violent action aimed at destroying the property of animal exploiters in Toronto has increased dramatically. Perhaps as a signal to the Front, the police are being informed of this increase in direct action, are treating the movement as a serious one. Five ALF members as might be expected for the most recent action, have been arrested. Charges have multiplied, and legal costs for defense have mounted — evidence of the State’s recognition that property is valued more than life, and "illegitimate" action that is a dangerous and immediate threat. In response to this incitement, a broad-based anti-vivisection and animal rights educational events including films, rallies, concerts, and speakers are being planned throughout 1987 — joint efforts of the ALF Support Group and the Toronto Defence Group. Write: Freebird, c/o ALFSG (Canada), PO Box 915, Stations F, Toronto, ON, M4P 6E9.

THIRD WORLD ISSUES

SOLIDARITY WITH THE STUDENTS OF EL SALVADOR — San Salvador, 27 July-8 August. 2nd annual event organized by the Canadian University Students in solidarity with AUGEZ (CUSS-AUGEZ). Scheduled activities include a presentation of a regional conference on the debt crisis in Latin America, history and cultural analysis; a march commemorating the 1977 explosion of university of El Salvador (UES) students by government forces; meetings with the Human Rights Commission of El Salvador (non-governmental), the Mother’s Committee, AUGEZ, the Salvadorian office of the UN, a refugee camp, and if possible meetings with the Canadian Ambassadors and the Minister of Education. Contact as soon as possible: CUSS-AUGEZ, PO Box 272, Station M, Toronto, ON, M6S 4T5. (416)536-5556.

PEACE BRIGADE INTERNATIONAL — is seeking people to live in El Salvador for 1 to 2 years. Needed ability to speak Spanish with interest in non-violence. Contact FII at 173 Carlin St, Toronto, ON, M5A 3K3. (416)964-1881.

FMN RADIO FARABUNDI MARTI — voice of the Salvadoran peasants who are struggling, broadcast every day El Salvador at 12:30 p.m., 6:30 pm, at 6:30 AM on the meter band. Write R.F. Marti, Apartado Postal No. 32-80, Montargo, Nicaragua, C.A.

COALITION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN GRENADA (CARICOM) — January, the former Attorney General of the United States, Mr. Ramsey Clark, spoke at a meeting organized in cooperation with the University of the West Indies, the Coalition for Human Rights in Grenada, the Grenada Association for Human Rights, the Human Rights Centre, and the Government of Grenada. The coalition states that the government has been demanding from the island in 1983 left little doubt why the international press has been denied access to the prisons and the island. Contact the Latin American Studies Committee (LASC), University of Calgary, AB, T2N 1N4. (403)220-6025.

MEDICAL AID FOR PALESTINE — a non-profit association in support of the Palestinian Red Crescent (equivalent of Red Cross) has issued an urgent appeal for contributions to the emergency services needed for the Sitri, Butel-el- Bazark and Radda camps in Lebanon. 50,000 residents have been under siege for months, and widespread hunger and starvation has been reported. Their hospital has been bombarded and evacuation denied. Dr. Fathi Atrash of the Red Crescent urges aid and help, as importantly, international pressure to be exerted to end this siege and allow food and medicines to move into the camps. Write MAP at 300 Caret St, Louis, Souls 310, Montreal, PQ, H2J 1A5.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC EXPERIENCE — annually arranges for Canadians to spend a summer living with Dominican families and taping into an extensive network of contacts and resource people involved in community organizations. Information and insights into the economic, political and social realities of that country may be gained. Contact: Youth Corps, 80 Sackville St, Toronto, ON, M5A 2E5. (416)863-6702.

DEVELOPMENT IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN — Windsor, 8-10 October. A joint conference organized by the Ontario Cooperative Program of the American and Caribbean Studies (OCPLACS) and the Canadian Association of Latin American and Caribbean Studies (CALACS). OCPLACS sessions will emphasize: Alternative models of development; evaluation of contributions by non-governmental organizations (NGOs); the role of the Canadian government (UDA, IDEA, IDA, External Affairs, CALACS); and the role of Latin American and Caribbean regions in Canada. In addition, there will be a major symposium of researchers focusing on Mexico. Contact: Stuart H. Sturlin, Dep. of Communication Studies, University of Windsor, Windsor, ON, N9B 3J4. (519)253-4232, ext. 2910.

CONFERENCE IN CANADA

TORONTO COMMUNITY NETWORK WORKSHOPS — Toronto, 4-25 April. Sessions scheduled: presentation and workshop by Montreal bartender and nutrition consultant Ted Findlay; learning computer through logos, Education in Training; while or phone TCY at 1794 Queen Street West, Suite 001, Toronto, ON, M6K 3C5. (416)553-8605.

STANDEN THE GAFF — Sydney, 20-30 May. Sponsored by the Canadian Popular Theatre Alliance and the International Festival of Popular Theatre. Performances include: Kristen Marekevich, Joanne Correia, Tocayocay of Nicaragua, a Southern African group and others. Development options for non-commercial theatre groups in promoting peace and security. Information: Office of the Manager, 2058, Addison, Y-V5H 4Y7, Toronto, ON, K0V 1H0.

OUTSIDE THE NUCLEAR CLUB — Toronto, 10-15 June. An exploration of options for non-nuclear choices in promoting peace and security. Information: Office of the Manager, 2058, Addison, Y-V5H 4Y7, Toronto, ON, K0V 1H0.

ECOLOGY OF COMMUNICATION — Monday, 21 May. 37th Annual Conference of the International Communication Association, Highfield Academy in London. Meetings with the Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research International, the Canadian Communication Association, the Quebec Communication Research Association, and the International Association for Mass Communication Research. Le Centre Sheraton Hotel, Mississauga, PQ.

TORONTO SEMIOTIC CIRCLE — Toronto, 1-2 June, 1987. Sessions will be held by the Association for Canadian Studies, the Association for the Study of Canadian Radios and Teleradios, the Society for Soviet Studies, and the Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory, among many others. Also note that the Canadian Society for Hermeneutics is also at the conference. Will meet for the first time as an independent group. Contact: The Hermeneutics of Self-Deception: Consciousness or False Consciousness. Write or phone The Secretariat, Learned Society, 11480 Yonge St, Davisville College, McMaster University, 1280 Main St, Hamilton, ON, L8S 4K1. (416)525-9149 ext. 2577.

LEARNED SOCIETIES CONFERENCE — Hamilton, 24-25 May, 1987. Sessions will be held by the Association for Canadian Studies, the Association for the Study of Canadian Radios and Teleradios, the Society for Soviet Studies, and the Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory, among many others. Also note that the Canadian Society for Hermeneutics is also at the conference. Will meet for the first time as an independent group. Contact: The Hermeneutics of Self-Deception: Consciousness or False Consciousness. Write or phone The Secretariat, Learned Society, 11480 Yonge St, Davisville College, McMaster University, 1280 Main St, Hamilton, ON, L8S 4K1. (416)525-9149 ext. 2577.
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON FEMINIST ABORTION (CCHA 37) - Montreal, 15-19 June. This 3rd conference will enable women, persons of colour, women workers, women of mixed origin, senior women, and all those who have experienced abortion to be heard. This year's central theme will be the concept of punishment, its application by the State through law and through the penal system, and abortion as a right or privilege. Contact: CCHA 37, 1030 rue Charron, Suite 300, Montreal, PQ, H2L 1H9, (514) 842-5965.

INTERNATIONAL MALCOLM LOWRY SYMPOSIUM - Vancouver, 10-13 April. Sponsored by the Canadian Department of Art at the University of British Columbia, 1875 East Mall, Vancouver, BC, V6T 1Z5.

CROSS-CULTURALISM IN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE - Ottawa, 14-17 May. Sponsored by the Children's Literature Association, c/o Barbara Garner, Department of English, Carleton University, Ottawa, ON, K1S 5B6.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON STATE COOPERATIVE RELATIONS - Sherbrooke, PQ, 31 May-4 June. The conference will bring together representatives of the government, university, and cooperative sectors from countries both North and South. Sponsored by the Institut de recherches et d'enseignement pour les cooperatives (IRÉCUS) in collaboration with the Co-operative Union of Canada and Le Conseil canadien de la coopération. Contact Nicole Saint-Martin, Chairwoman, IRÉCUS, Université de Sherbrooke, Sherbrooke, PQ, J1K 2R1. (819)982-7220.


ACCULTURATION AND INTOLERANCE: GLOBAL, NATIONAL AND REGIONAL PERSPECTIVES - Halifax, 14-17 October. Contact: GIACS, St. Mary's University, Halifax, NS, B3H 3C3.

TALKING PICTURES: A CONFERENCE ON ART AND PHOTOGRAPHY - Toronto, 15-18 October. Topics for conference events will reflect the current critical and historical concerns, for the more practical concerns of photographic practice such as exhibiting, publishing, and collecting. Panels, talks, and presentations will fall under three groupings: Issues in Contemporary Photography, Systems of Influence, and Peintre de Crossover. Organized by Photo-Communique Magazine, PO Box 129, Station M, Toronto, ON, M5S 4T2. (416)868-1443.

WOMEN AND WELLBEING - Winnipeg, 6-8 November. Sponsored by the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women (CRIAWS). Potential topics include health issues, stress, empowerment, ability/disability, peace, economics and employment, marriage, family, and other relationships arts and culture, stress, institutional problems and support. Emphasis will be placed on a lifespan perspective. The hope is to achieve a conference that will actually enhance the wellbeing of its participants. Write or phone: CRIAWS Program Committee, c/o Dr. Katherine Schulte, University of Winnipeg, 515 Portage Ave, Winnipeg, Manitoba, R3B 259. (204)949-1655.


CONFERENCE BEYOND THE BORDER - March 1987. Contact: Jack Karrwell, Electrical Engineering Dept., San Jose State University, San Jose, CA 95192.

WORLD CONGRESS OF COMPARATIVE EDUCATION - Rio de Janeiro, 6-10 July. The principle theme of this year's (36th) Congress is "The current world crisis and the changes in education which arise from it in each country and in international relationships between countries." For further information please contact: Congress Travel of Canada Ltd., 102 Bloor St. W., Suite 620, Toronto, ON, M5M 1B8. (416)922-8161.

RETHINKING THE TRANSCENDENTAL: THE PHILOSOPHY OF JACQUES DERRIDA - Paris, 13 July-7 August. 12th annual session of the College de Philosophie, including four one-course weeks and additional seminars and reading workshops. Write: Rodolphe Onchot, Directeur, Programme en Comparatif, 636 Samuel Clemens Hall, SUNY at Buffalo, NY, 14260.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON PLANNING AND DESIGN THEORY (ICPDET) - Buton, 17-20 August. This multidisciplinary Congress aims to disseminate existing knowledge, and to stimulate research and development. It covers theory, methodology, research and practice, integrating the themes and sessions of five concurrent Conferences. Contact: James G. Peterson, PhD, Conference Coordinator: ICPDET, 5171 East Karen Drive #4, Madison, WI, 53704. (608)262-6044.

INTERNATIONAL WORKSHOP ON IMPACT ASSESSMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT - Barbados, 31 May-4 June. Working group discussions will be oriented around economic, social and environmental aspects of development in balance with the environment in the Caribbean and worldwide. Write or phone: IAIA 87, c/o 700-789 West Pender St, Vancouver, BC, V6C 1H2. (604)666-2431.

dominant. Historian remains the
Historical relates mainly but not exclusively the
but historic is most often used to
state destiny. History itself retains its
hands, teaches or shows us most knowing about
every kind of imaginable future.

See determine, evolution

HUMANITY

Humanity belongs to a complex group of
domains: humane, humanism, humanist,
in some or all of their senses, particularly
for man (homo, hominis, L – man, belonging to men).

It is necessary first to understand humanism
and humane, which only became
acceptable in the 19th century. Before this humane was
taken